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# THE ART BULLETIN

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FIG. 1—Solsona, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Virgin Panel from Sagars (Photo. Mas)

# THE EARLIEST PAINTED PANELS OF CATALONIA (VI)

BY WALTER W. S. COOK

## THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE VIRGIN PANEL FROM SAGARS

THE second of the side panels from Sagars, which now hangs in the Episcopal Museum at Solsona,<sup>1</sup> originally contained five scenes from the life of the Virgin. Although badly mutilated on the left side the remaining portion shows in the upper register the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Nativity, and in the lower register a doubtful scene almost entirely missing, and the Adoration of the Magi.

### ANNUNCIATION

The scenes follow a normal sequence and begin in the upper left corner with the Annunciation (Fig. 1), a part of which is lost. The angel Gabriel stood on the left with right hand raised in salutation and may have held in the left a scepter or scroll, as on a capital in the monastery of San Cugat del Vallés,<sup>2</sup> or have clutched his mantle as in the Limoges Gospels in the Pierpont Morgan Library,<sup>3</sup> a posture which was especially frequent during the late Romanesque and Gothic periods. The right hand of the Virgin is also missing but the position of the arm and the left hand placed against the breast in an attitude of doubt are also common during the twelfth century. In the Limoges Gospels the Holy Ghost is represented by a white dove, but in the Catalan panel the head of an angel appears from a cloud above the Virgin's head.

### VISITATION

Iconographically there is nothing unusual about the scene of the Visitation. Elizabeth and Mary stand with arms about each other's necks in the center of the composition and there are no accessories.

### NATIVITY

The Nativity (Fig. 2), on the other hand, shows clearly that it was derived from Western sources, since the Virgin lies on a bed. Whereas in Asiatic and Byzantine examples of the Nativity she reclines on an elongated curving mattress, the Western artist preferred the more homely four-poster bed, the widespread use of which in West Frankish art was undoubtedly due to such Carolingian models as the Utrecht Psalter. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the bed is often shown in a diagonal position, as in the Benedictional

1. For a reproduction of this panel see *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, fig. 30. For previous articles in this series of studies of the earliest painted panels of Catalonia see *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 85ff.; VI, 2, pp. 31ff.; VIII, 2, pp. 57ff.; VIII, 4, pp. 195ff.; X, 2, pp. 153-204.

2. J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1918, III, fig. 315.

3. Charles R. Morey, *The Illuminated Manuscripts of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library*, in *The Arts*, New York, 1925, VII, 4, fig. 23.

of Aethelwold.<sup>4</sup> In later North French and Belgian manuscripts a sloping bed that is much higher at the head than at the foot is sometimes depicted, an extreme example of which can be illustrated by a thirteenth century manuscript at Brussels (Fig. 3),<sup>5</sup> where the foot of the bed touches the ground and the Virgin lies in a half-reclining position. Sporadic examples of the inclined bed also appear in Catalonia, as in the dream of Joseph in the Bible of Farfa,<sup>6</sup> but in general the Romanesque artists of Spain avoided this extreme sloping posture. In the majority of Spanish versions of the Nativity the four posts of the bed are of equal height and the Virgin lies in a horizontal position as on this panel.

Equally Western is the position of the Child, Who lies on a small cot directly above the Virgin's head. On a tenth century ivory *situla* in the Morgan collection<sup>7</sup> the cot is placed above the Virgin and appears to be supported by short columns. An Ottonian example, which undoubtedly exerted a strong influence on contemporary Romanesque versions, is found in the Codex Aureus (fol. 96) of the Escorial Library, where the cot is placed in the lunette of an open doorway of a palace. In Spanish examples of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the cot was often placed against the wall, as on a capital in the Catalan cloister of S. Maria at Estany (Fig. 4). It appears again in this form on a capital of the cathedral of Roda (Huesca) and continued in Spain during the Gothic period, as shown by the scene of the Nativity in the sculptured tympanum of the church of S. Pedro at Olite and elsewhere. In each of these examples the cot is upheld by little or no structural support, so that in this detail our Catalan artist was undoubtedly following a local tradition.

#### THE THREE MAGI BEFORE HEROD

The lower register of this panel originally contained two scenes, one of which is almost entirely lost. Only the head and shoulders of a guard remain, but inasmuch as the three Magi are depicted on the right it is highly probable that Herod was shown in the missing compartment. It is impossible to state definitely whether the lost scene represented the Magi before Herod, the Massacre of the Innocents, or Herod giving the order to kill the Magi. The heavily bearded guard, who holds a spear in both hands and looks backward, has the same ugly features (long nose, receding forehead, and hair standing on end) as the soldiers and evil spirits in the St. Andrew panel at Vich.<sup>8</sup>

The scene of the three Magi before Herod appears during the Early Christian period on the arch mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome.<sup>9</sup> The Magi and the distant town from which they came are shown on the left; Herod, enthroned on the right and attended by a military escort, raises his right hand in speech and two white-bearded priests, one of whom holds a roll in his hand, stand between the ruler and the Magi. The Carolingian type can be illustrated by the Drogo Sacramentary,<sup>10</sup> where Herod is placed on the left and

4. *Archaeologia*, XXIV, pl. 12; Otto Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im X. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912, pl. IV.

5. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. lat. 10527, fol. 15v. (van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, I, p. 28).

6. Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration*, fig. 136.

7. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, p. 33, no. 71, b.

8. Cf. *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, p. 223, figs. 3, 4, 6.

9. J. P. Richter and A. Cameron Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, London, 1904, pp. 361 ff., pl. 47, fig. 2, pl. 49.

10. A. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl. LXXXIX, fig. B.



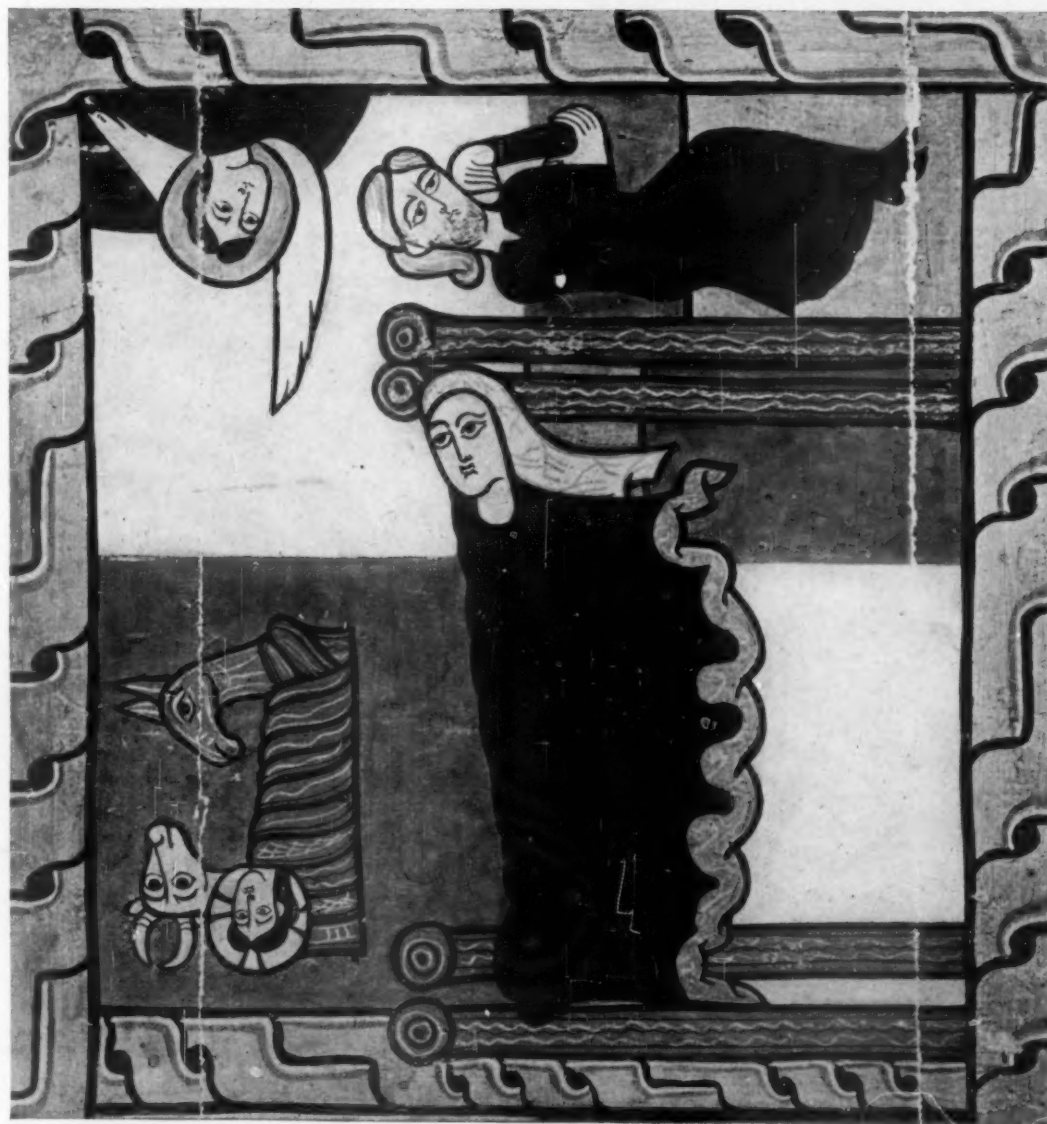


FIG. 2—Solsona, Episcopal Museum; Detail of Virgin Panel from Sagars  
(Photo. Mas)



FIG. 3—Brussels, Bibl. Roy.; Page from  
Manuscript of the Gospels



FIG. 4—Estany, S. Maria: Capital in Cloister (Photo. Mas)



FIG. 5—Angers, Préfecture: Detail of Romanesque Portal



the three Magi appear in single file on the right. In the Bible of Farfa (Fig. 6)<sup>11</sup> the Magi approach from the right and carry spears; Herod is seated on a high throne with his feet resting on a footstool and two armed guards stand behind the throne. This arrangement was frequently followed by later Western artists and an interesting thirteenth century example is found in a fresco on the right arch of a Romanesque portal in the préfecture at Angers (Fig. 5), where the artist has introduced three bearded old men with ugly features, who appear to give evil counsel to Herod or to mock at the Magi. At times only a single guard was included, as on the wooden doors of St. Maria im Kapitol at Cologne,<sup>12</sup> where the three Magi before Herod and the Epiphany are shown in adjoining compartments. In the scene of the three Magi before Herod on this wooden door, the guard stands on the left and the three Magi are shown on the right, but this composition, if reversed, might well have approximated the lost scene of our panel, where the guard is shown on the right.

The enthroned Herod with armed guards is also frequently portrayed in the Massacre of the Innocents. In the earliest known examples of this subject, found during the Early Christian era in manuscripts and on ivory book-covers,<sup>13</sup> one or two guards stand behind the throne or *solium* on which the tyrant is seated. This arrangement was also followed by Spanish artists, and in the scene in the Bible of Farfa (Fig. 6) three guards with spears and shields are depicted behind Herod's throne on the extreme right. More frequently during the Romanesque and Gothic periods the enthroned Herod and the slaughter of the children are portrayed in adjoining compartments, an arrangement found on the wooden door of St. Maria im Kapitol at Cologne.<sup>14</sup> On the fresco above the left arch of the portal at Angers (Fig. 5) Herod is seated on a Dagobert throne and the Epiphany adjoins the scene of the Slaughter of the Innocents. It is less likely, however, that this scene was shown on our Catalan panel, since there would hardly have been sufficient space to have included a scene with several figures.

The possibility must also be considered that the missing scene on our Catalan panel represented the moment when Herod issues the order to follow and kill the Magi. In most Romanesque versions of this subject the enthroned Herod speaks to one or two armed guards, as on a capital in the cloisters of the cathedral at Elne. This scene, however, would normally follow rather than precede the Epiphany and it is hardly likely that the Catalan artist would have reversed the usual sequence.

#### ADORATION OF THE MAGI

The Adoration of the Magi, which occupies two compartments on the right (Fig. 7), shows a combination of Eastern and Western elements, inasmuch as the Virgin and Child are shown in strict frontality and the three Magi, two of whom are bearded, approach in single file. This scene appears early in Christian art and two main types can be distinguished, a symbolic Hellenistic version and a more narrative Eastern type.<sup>15</sup> The

11. Rome, Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. lat. 5729, fol. 366v. (Neuss, *op. cit.*, p. 113, fig. 142).

12. Hamann, *Die Holztür zu St. Maria im Kapitol*, p. 12, pls. VI, VII.

13. For a discussion of Early Christian examples see Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, pp. 59-68.

14. Hamann, *op. cit.*, pl. XI.

15. For a discussion of the Epiphany see Hugo Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1908; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.; Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, pp. 64 ff.

distinguishing feature of the Hellenistic version is the appearance of the three Magi, who are represented without beards and who usually approach in single file. In the catacomb frescoes the Virgin is almost invariably seated on a high-backed throne in a comfortable three-quarters position; she holds the Child in her lap and looks toward the Magi, who advance or stand before her with outstretched offerings.<sup>16</sup> On the sarcophagi, which are slightly later in date, the Virgin is usually seated in profile and holds the Child out toward the approaching Magi<sup>17</sup> and sometimes the Child reaches out with both hands to receive the gift from the first of the Magi.<sup>18</sup> The number of the Magi who come from the East was not stated by the evangelist (Matthew, II) nor by the earliest church fathers. At first the number was sometimes two, four, or six, but the number three was established early and was invariable in literature and on monuments after the fourth century.<sup>19</sup>

The Eastern version of the Epiphany differs from the Hellenistic in that the Virgin and Child are shown in a strictly frontal position and the Magi are represented with beards. On some monuments all three Magi are bearded; on others the ages of the Magi are differentiated, the eldest being heavily bearded, the second lightly bearded, and the last beardless. This distinction between old age, middle age, and youth is one of the most noticeable differences between the monuments of the East and the early catacomb and sarcophagi representations in the West, where the Magi are invariably smooth-shaven. Equally characteristic of the Orient is the hieratic, strictly frontal, nimbed Madonna, who is seated on a throne with bolster and who holds the two-year-old Child<sup>20</sup> on her lap or between her knees. On a sixth century ambo from Salonika,<sup>21</sup> now in the Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, the Virgin is seated full front on a throne with high circular back; she holds the Child directly on the central axis, and the Magi approach in a line. On the Monza phials<sup>22</sup> the three Magi sometimes stand or kneel on the left and the shepherds are shown on the right, and on other early Palestinian-Coptic-Syrian examples, such as the Etsch-

16. Wilpert, *Roma sotterranea, Le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome, 1903, pls. 144, 1; 172, 2; 212; 239.

17. Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, V, pls. 380/4; 384/5; 384/7; 385/2. The same type is also found on a medallion in Rome (*ibid.*, pl. 435/7).

18. As shown by a silver box in the Louvre (Phil. Lauer, in *Fondation Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, Paris, 1907, XV, pl. VII).

19. Leo the Great in his Homilies (Liell, *Mariendarstellungen*, p. 296) refers repeatedly to the three Magi. In 59 scenes of the Adoration on Early Christian frescoes and sarcophagi, from the second century catacomb fresco on the arcosolium of the Greek Chapel (Wilpert, *Fractio Panis*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1895, pl. VII) to the seventh century sarcophagi, there are but three exceptions. In the catacomb of Sts. Peter and Marcellinus there are two (Wilpert, *Le Pitture*, pl. 60) representations in which there are but two Magi and in Domitilla (c. 300) there are four Magi (*ibid.*, pl. 116, 1), two on either side of the Madonna. The unusual number of six also exists on a fragmentary black vase in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 427/6; Kehrler, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 11).

20. Not only in all Romanesque work but in the Early Christian monuments this was the fixed age of the Child in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi. It appears to have been a traditional rendering begun by the earliest Hellenistic artists and runs counter to the accepted theological belief that the Magi visited Christ in a cavern shortly after the birth. In a rare Epiphany type found on Early Christian sarcophagi, about the fourth century (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, V, pls. 398/5/7; 334/2) Jesus in swaddling clothes lies in a cot under a manger roof. The Virgin is seated at one side in a three-quarters position, the ox and ass are represented, and the three Magi approach with gifts. Matthew (II, 16) mentions that after the Magi had come to adore the Child, Herod killed all the children "from two years old and under," and that may have been the literary source of the two-year type. The Pseudo-Matthew appears to have definitely accepted this in saying: "Two years having passed, some Magi came from the Orient to Jerusalem" and "entering into the house they found the Child Jesus resting on his mother's breast" (Michel, *Evangelés apocryphes*, Paris, 1911, p. 109).

21. Kehrler, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 44, 45.

22. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pls. 433/9; 434; Kehrler, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 31-33.



FIG. 6—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of Page from Bible of Farfa



FIG. 7—Solsona, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Virgin Panel from Sagars (Photo. Mas)





FIG. 8—Antwerp, Library: Page from *Sedulius Manuscript*



FIG. 9—Escorial Library: Page from *Codex Aureus*

miadzin Gospels,<sup>23</sup> one Magus and an angel stand on one side of the enthroned Virgin and are balanced by two Magi on the other side.<sup>24</sup>

In all the Oriental examples there is an emphasis on balance and monumentality and it was this rigidly symmetrical Palestinian-Coptic type, with the frontal Virgin and bearded Magi, which penetrated the art of Byzantium and Ravenna and later passed into Western Europe. One of the earliest adaptations of the Eastern formula to Western tradition is found in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna.<sup>25</sup> Here a frontal, nimbed Madonna is seated on a richly decorated throne flanked on either side by angels. The figures of the Magi have been much restored, but two of them are bearded and approach in single file from the left.

It was the Hellenistic rather than the Oriental version which was first adopted by the Carolingian artists. In the Sacramentary of Drogo and on ninth century ivories<sup>26</sup> the three Magi are shown without beards and the Virgin is seated in a profile or three-quarters position as on the early sarcophagi and catacomb frescoes. In fact, this early Hellenistic formula, with the profile or three-quarters Madonna and the Magi advancing in a line, was copied by Western artists throughout the Middle Ages. It is not only found in tenth century manuscripts, such as the Benedictional of Aethelwold, of the Winchester school,<sup>27</sup> where the Magi are beardless, but was equally favored by the sculptors of the twelfth century and it appears frequently in Romanesque churches, as on the porch at Moissac (c. 1130) and the tympanum of the church at La Charité-sur-Loire (c. 1150).<sup>28</sup>

Not infrequently these later Hellenistic versions show contact with the East, since the Magi are sometimes represented with beards. An early Western example which shows this Oriental feature is found in a ninth century Sedulius manuscript at Antwerp (Fig. 8),<sup>29</sup> where the first two Magi are bearded and the third is beardless. With the exception of this Eastern detail, however, the scene follows the Hellenistic formula closely, since the Virgin is seated in a three-quarters position, and the Magi are represented with tall Phrygian caps, short tunics caught up at the waist, mantles, and long hose. This costume, which is Persian in origin,<sup>30</sup> is not only found on Early Christian monuments,<sup>31</sup> but was also copied in scenes of the Adoration on late Byzantine ivories, and a modified form of the Phrygian cap, together with tight-fitting hose and long pallium, appears in Western art as late as the eleventh century, as shown by the Prüm Troper (c. 1000) at Paris<sup>32</sup> and a fresco in the church of S. Urbano at Rome, dated 1011.<sup>33</sup>

The Oriental type of the Adoration, with the frontal nimbed Madonna and bearded Magi, was much more common in Germany and Italy during the tenth and eleventh centuries than in the West Frankish schools. Byzantine models were undoubtedly respon-

23. Strzygowski, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar*, Vienna, 1891, pl. VI, 1.

24. The same monumental arrangement is found on a sixth century ivory in the British Museum and on another in the Crawford collection, London (Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 36-37).

25. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 244; Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 50, n. 3, fig. 34.

26. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 101-103.

27. *Ibid.*, II, fig. 134.

28. *Ibid.*, II, figs. 127, 129.

29. Antwerp, Library, fol. 115b.

30. Derived from the Mithras worship of the East, where Oriental priests are represented in a costume identical with that found on the sarcophagi (cf. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 4).

31. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, figs. 34-36.

32. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 9448, fol. 23v.

33. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 50; cf. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917, IV, figs. 336, 341.

sible for the transmission into Western Europe of this version and the ultimate form which it assumed in the Ottonian school can be illustrated by a page from the Codex Aureus in the Escorial Library (Fig. 9). Here the nimbed Madonna is enthroned within the open doorway of a palace; her head is bent slightly to one side and the Child is held in a naturalistic manner, but she is shown in a position of more or less strict frontality. The Magi, who advance in single file from the left, wear crowns and all three are depicted with long beards. This absence of differentiation between the ages of the Magi is not uncommon in German manuscripts<sup>34</sup> and it appears on Limoges enamels as late as the thirteenth century, as shown by an enameled casket in the cathedral of Huesca (Fig. 10).<sup>35</sup> In other Ottonian examples, such as the Codex Aureus at Gotha,<sup>36</sup> two of the Magi are bearded and one is beardless, and occasionally two are depicted without beards, as in the Codex Egberti<sup>37</sup> (cf. also Fig. 12).

Another innovation in this scene which makes its appearance in the Ottonian school is the substitution of crowns instead of the Phrygian caps which were worn until a comparatively late date in other Western schools (cf. Fig. 8). This change also can be traced to Eastern sources and undoubtedly reverts to the reference to crowns which appears in the seventh century in the Nestorian liturgy, where the three Magi are mentioned as three kings, the King of Persia, the King of India, and the King of China, who come to worship bearing crowns.<sup>38</sup> Once introduced into the West the use of crowns became general and during the Romanesque and Gothic periods the three Magi were invariably represented as kings. The form of the crowns varied greatly but it is interesting to note that the high, pointed crowns, worn by the three kings on our Catalan panel, are similar in shape to those found in the tenth century Codex Aureus at Gotha and in an early copy of the Gospels at Brussels.<sup>39</sup>

Although Ottonian artists frequently represented the Madonna in Epiphany scenes in a position of more or less frontality it is interesting to note that she is always portrayed in a naturalistic manner. In the Codex Aureus of the Escorial Library (Fig. 9) and in other Ottonian examples the Virgin's head is bent to one side and the Child sits comfortably in her lap. The Child, in fact, is seldom, if ever, represented in a strictly frontal position in German manuscripts but is usually shown in a three-quarters or profile pose and often leans forward to bless the first of the Magi, as in Hellenistic and West Frankish examples. This naturalistic posture was not confined to Germany; it is also found during the late eleventh century in northern Italy, where Ottonian as well as Byzantine models were frequently copied, and can be illustrated by a page from the Matilda Gospels in the Morgan Library (Fig. 11).<sup>40</sup> Here, as in the Codex Aureus, the Virgin's body is shown in a frontal position but her head is turned slightly toward the right, and the Child, depicted in a three-quarters position, extends both hands toward the Magi, who approach in single file. The type also existed in central France prior to the introduction of the Lombard style, since it occurs in the sculptured tympanum of the church of Rozier (Loire) (Fig. 12),

34. Kehr, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 109, 110, 112-14, 116, 118, 120. Although all the Magi in the above examples are bearded the artist has in some instances represented the first Magus with a white beard.

35. Cf. enameled casket in the Kestner Museum at Hanover (*ibid.*, II, fig. 131).

36. Gotha, museum, dated 983-991 (*ibid.*, II, fig. 107).

37. *Ibid.*, II, fig. 19; Kraus, *Die Miniaturen des Codex Egberti*, pl. XV.

38. *Ibid.*, I, p. 30.

39. Brussels, Bibl. Roy., cod. lat. 9428 (*ibid.*, II, figs. 21, 22).

40. Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. no. 492, fol. 20v.





FIG. 10—Huesca, Cathedral: Enameled Casket  
(Photo. Mas)

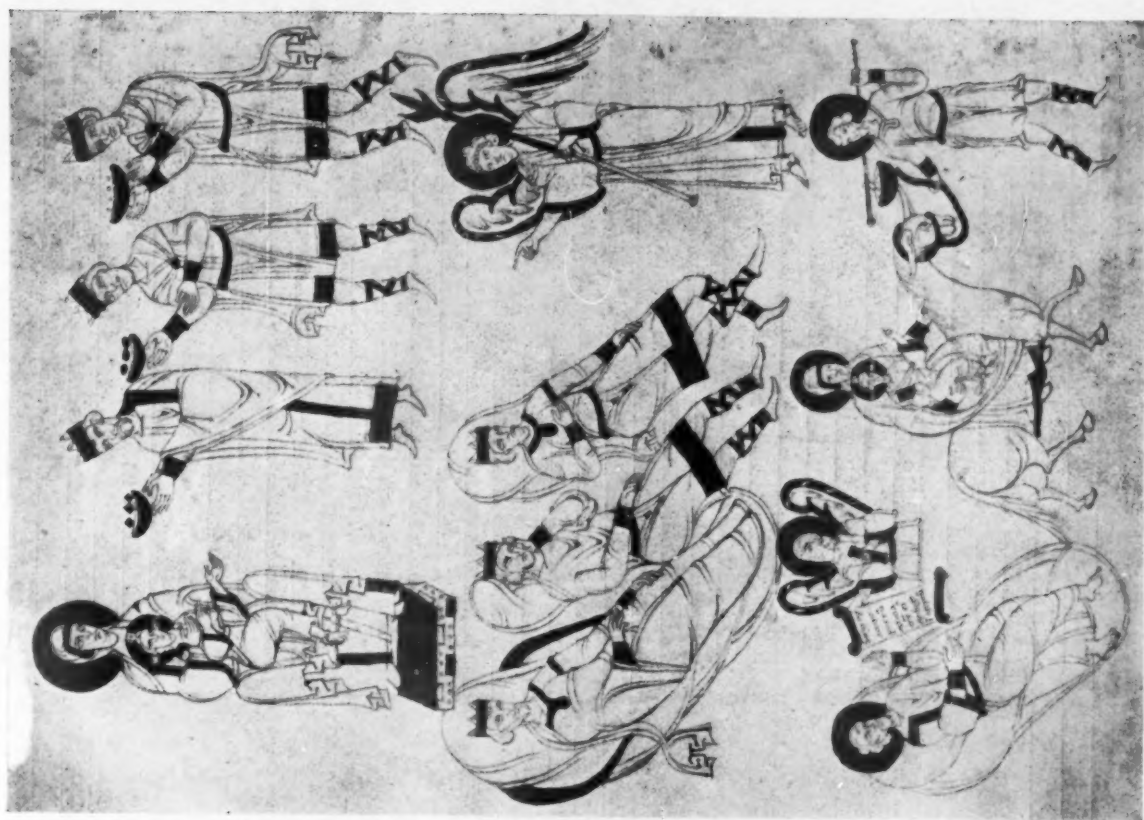


FIG. 11—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Page from  
Matilda Gospels



FIG. 12—*Rozier (Loire): Early Tympanum*



FIG. 13—*Santiago de Compostela, Museum: Mutilated Relief*  
(Photo. Mas)

where the Madonna looks directly toward the spectator and the Child leans forward to accept the gift offered by the first of the Kings.

It was not until the Romanesque period that the rigidly symmetrical frontal and crowned Madonna became popular in scenes of the Adoration of the Magi in Northern Europe. In her recent study of *Maria Regina* Miss Lawrence has shown that the squarely frontal Madonna and Child, as an isolated *motif*, was common in Italian mosaics and frescoes from the sixth century on.<sup>41</sup> In these examples the Virgin is represented as the *sedes sapientiae* of the Infant Christ; she is seated on a jeweled throne, wears a rich crown over a veil and assumes the appearance of a Byzantine empress. Hieratic dignity and a strict frontal pose are the chief characteristics of this monumental type, which continued in Italian art until the fourteenth century. From Italy it passed into Northern France and the appearance of the crowned and frontal Madonna on the west façade of Chartres, about the middle of the twelfth century, marks the beginning of a widespread popularization of the figure throughout all Western Europe in sculpture, stained glass, and manuscripts.

It is important to note, however, that in the Italian and French examples the frontal and crowned Madonna was treated as a devotional and dogmatic figure. She was either depicted alone or with saints or angels, and prior to the twelfth century was rarely represented in historical scenes, such as the Epiphany. Occasional exceptions to this rule are found, as on a page in an eleventh century Italian manuscript at Berlin,<sup>42</sup> and a French lectionary of St.-Bertin at Paris.<sup>43</sup> Generally speaking, however, the frontal and crowned Madonna was not employed in the Adoration of the Magi until after the second half of the twelfth century, and its frequent appearance in the Epiphany after this period, as in the north portal of the cathedral of Bourges<sup>44</sup> and in the tympanum at Pompiene (Doubs),<sup>45</sup> was undoubtedly due in large measure to the widespread popularity of the Chartres type of Madonna, which was copied at Paris and throughout all Western Europe during the thirteenth century. With the spread of the cult of the Virgin during the thirteenth century, and the worship of her as the Mother of God and Queen of the Heavens, the type became popular in all Christendom.

Before dismissing this subject it would not be without interest to note some of the iconographic peculiarities of Epiphany scenes in the mediæval art of Spain. One of the earliest Spanish examples, found in the Gerona Beatus of 975,<sup>46</sup> shows an interesting combination of Western and Eastern elements. Hellenistic influence is betrayed in the three-quarters pose of the Virgin and the beardless Magi, who wear short mantles, long hose, and tall Phrygian caps, and advance in single file as on the early sarcophagi. The introduction of an angel, however, who stands directly behind the Madonna's throne, indicates that the Spanish artist also drew from Eastern sources, since an angel is the chief characteristic which distinguishes an otherwise Hellenistic scene on such Alexandrian monuments as the ivory chair of Maximianus and the ivory book-covers of the Etsch-

41. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 4, pp. 150 ff.

42. Kehrler (*op. cit.*, II, fig. 52, p. 70) cites this Gospel book as in the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Berlin, 78, A. 5 (Ham 549.71-1884) fol. 62. We have already noted that the frontal Madonna appears as early as the sixth century in the Epiphany scene in the mosaics of S. Apollinare

Nuovo at Ravenna, but in this example she wears a veil over her head and is not represented with a crown.

43. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 819, fol. 21v., eleventh century (Mâle, *op. cit.* p. 67).

44. *Ibid.*, fig. 54.

45. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 1, fig. 12.

46. Gerona cathedral, library, fol. 15v.



miadzin Gospels.<sup>47</sup> On these Early Christian examples the winged angel, placed between the first Magus and the Madonna, points out the star to the bearded Magi and Joseph stands directly behind the Virgin's throne. In the Gerona Beatus Joseph is omitted but the introduction of the angel, who stands behind the throne, is sufficient evidence that the Spanish artist borrowed this detail from some Alexandrian or Coptic model. It cannot be said, however, that the Gerona Beatus is an isolated instance of this practice, since an angel is represented as late as the thirteenth century in Spanish manuscripts, as on a page from the late Beatus manuscript in the Morgan Library (Fig. 15).<sup>48</sup>

The relatively late persistence in Spain of the early Hellenistic formula can be illustrated by the Mozarabic antiphonary finished in the year 1066, now in the cathedral of Leon (Fig. 14). Here the Virgin and Child, clad in voluminous robes, are seated in a three-quarters position on a throne with a high back and gaze directly toward the spectator. The three Magi are represented without beards and each holds a V-shaped gift, which was probably intended to represent a vase or cornucopia.<sup>49</sup> The beardless Magi, the three-quarters pose of the Virgin, and the absence of Joseph or any other figures shows that the Spanish artist was reproducing the symbolic formula of the Early Christian sarcophagi.

During the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century Spanish artists frequently followed the custom already firmly established in other West Frankish schools, where the Magi are depicted with beards. Thus, in the eleventh century Bible of Farfa (Fig. 6) two of the Magi are bearded and one is beardless in the Eastern manner, but they advance in single file and offer their gifts to the Virgin and Child, who are seated in profile. The profile pose of Madonna and Child was not limited to manuscripts but is also found in sculpture, as shown by a mutilated relief in the museum at Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 13). The three-quarters position was no less common and this characteristic Western feature can be illustrated by a page from the eleventh century St.-Sever Beatus at Paris,<sup>50</sup> where the Virgin is seated on a throne with a high back and the bearded Magi wear conical caps and offer their gifts on veiled hands. The Virgin is also represented in a three-quarters pose on the twelfth century tympanum of the church S. Pedro el Viejo at Huesca,<sup>51</sup> where Joseph stands behind the Dagobert throne and all three Magi are bearded.

Prior to the thirteenth century there appears to have been no fixed rule as to the age of the Magi, whereas in the Gothic period one Magus is invariably an old man, one is middle-aged, and the third is young and beardless, a distinction clearly shown in the Limoges Gospel of the Morgan Library. According to M. Mâle, this distinction is first found in Western literature in a passage attributed to Bede, where we read: "The first of the Magi was Melchior, an old man with long white hair and a long beard. It is he who offered gold, symbol of the divine kingdom. The second named Caspar, young and beardless, with a ruddy countenance . . . honoured Christ in presenting incense, an offering pointing to His divinity. The third, named Balthazar, with dark skin (*fuscus*) and a full beard testified in his offering of myrrh that the Son of man must die." M. Mâle states

47. For a discussion of the Alexandrian-Coptic type see Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-51.

48. Morgan Library, MS. no. 429, fol. 12.

49. For a more detailed discussion of the gifts carried by the Magi on Early Christian monuments see Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

50. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8878, fol. 12 (Neuss, *op. cit.*, pl. 55, fig. 167).

51. Marcel Dieulafoy, *Art in Spain and Portugal*, New York, 1913, fig. 155.



FIG. 14—Leon, Cathedral: Page from Antiphonary (1066)



FIG. 15—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Page from Beatus Manuscript

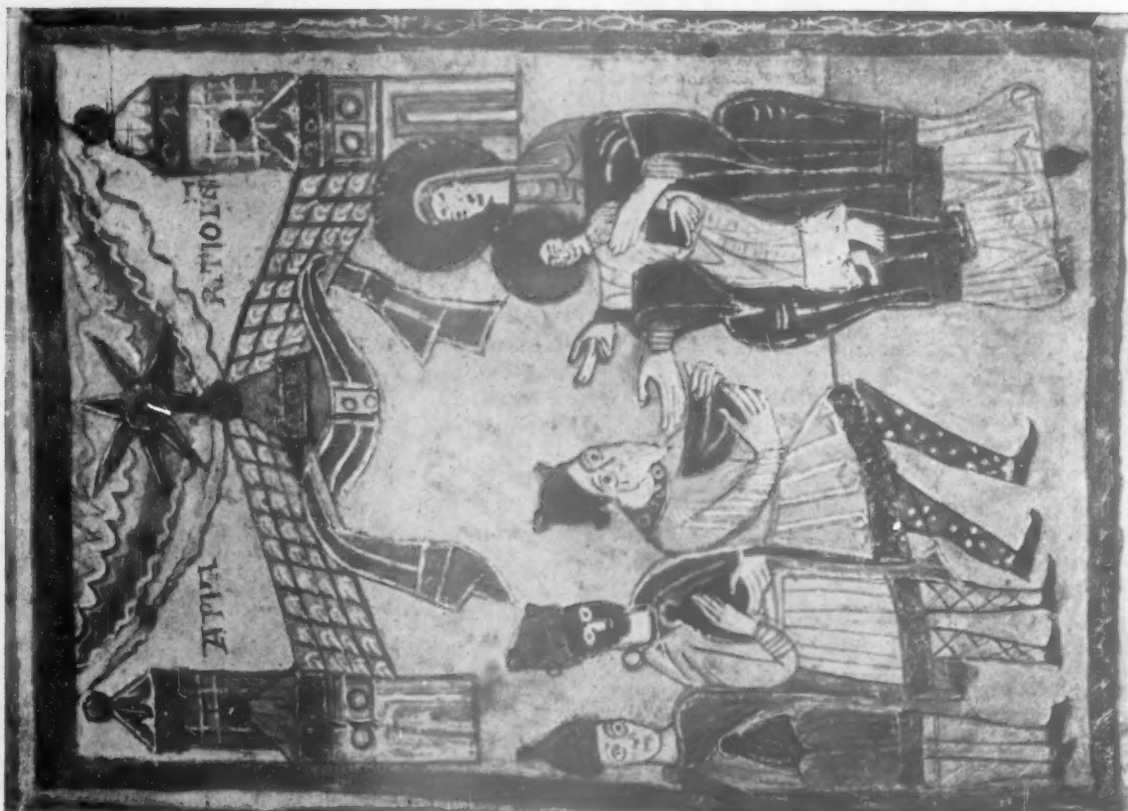


FIG. 16—Berlin, Municipal Library: Page from Manuscript

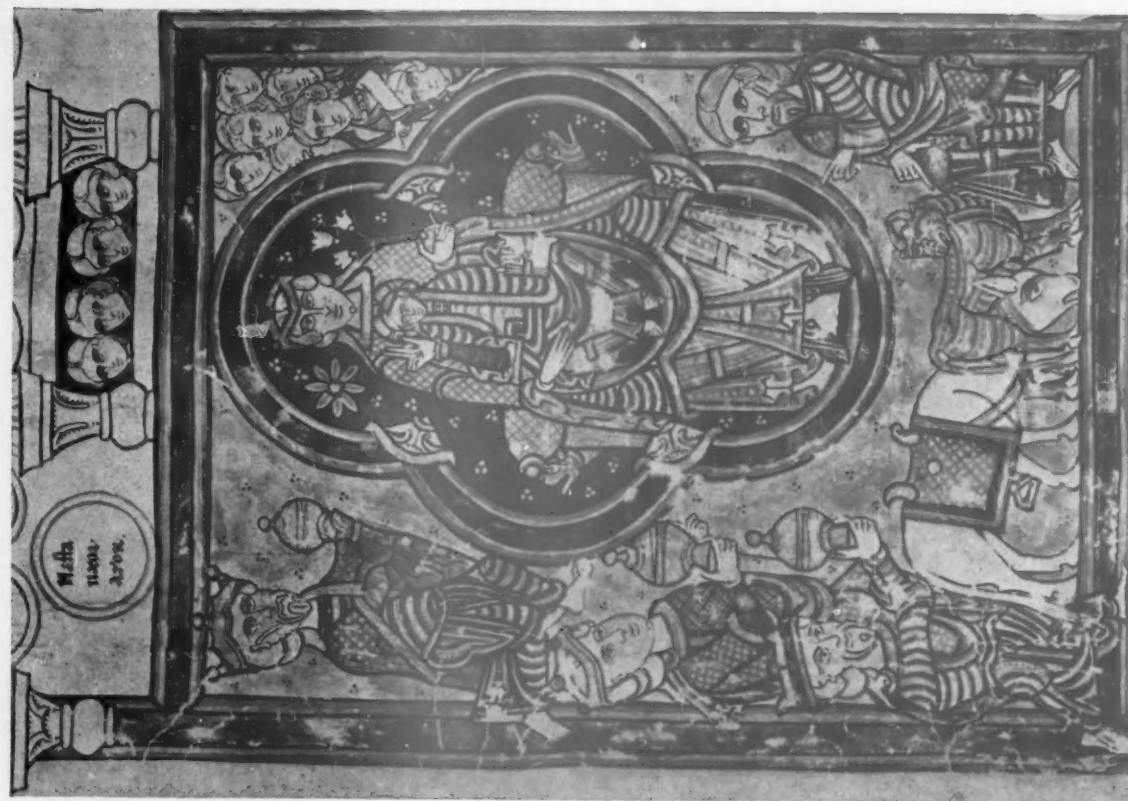


FIG. 17—Burgos, Municipal Library: Page from Bible



that the complexion assigned to Balthazar by the pseudo-Bede is not found in Western art until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and cites the carved tympanum on the church of Thann, a work of about 1355, as the earliest known example,<sup>52</sup> but in a manuscript at Berlin (Fig. 16),<sup>53</sup> which cannot be dated later than the twelfth century, the face of one of the kings is black and he resembles a negro. The exact provenance of this manuscript is unknown but the color as well as the figure and drapery style are characteristic of the Spanish school.

The hieratic, frontal Madonna makes its appearance in Spain during the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries and the strong French influence which is manifest everywhere in the Peninsula at this period explains the frequent appearance in Epiphany scenes of the frontal and crowned Virgin. She is frequently so represented in Catalan antependia, and a single manuscript example, chosen from the Castilian Bible in the Municipal Library at Burgos (Fig. 17) will suffice to illustrate the type. Seated on a Dagobert throne, the frontal Virgin wears a low crown and holds a flower in her left hand. Joseph is seated in the lower right corner and an ox and ass stand in the foreground. A singular innovation is the introduction in the upper right corner of a group of shepherds, one of whom holds a crook and points with his left hand toward the Christ Child. The crowned Madonna is also found in sculpture and a typical Romanesque example is found in the tympanum of the church of Mura (Barcelona),<sup>54</sup> where both the Virgin and the Child wear crowns and are shown in strict frontality.

During the Romanesque period the Madonna is frequently represented without a crown: an obvious illustration is the scene of the Adoration on our Catalan panel (Fig. 7), where the Virgin's head is covered with a veil. Here the nimbed Virgin is seated in strict frontality on a simple throne and holds the two-year-old Christ directly on the central axis. The Child holds a copy of the Gospels in the left hand and blesses with the right.<sup>55</sup> The Magi, who approach in single file on the left, wear tall crowns, long tunics and mantles, and no differentiation is shown between the ages of the first two, both of whom are bearded, and who carry large vases or bowls. The third king, who is young and beardless, holds a small circular flask with a tall slender neck. The form of this phial suggests the sixth century leaden ampulæ which were given according to tradition, to Theodelinda, the Lombard queen, by Gregory the Great. At no period do Christian artists seem to have followed literally the reference to the triple gift of gold, myrrh, and frankincense, first mentioned by Origen in the second century,<sup>56</sup> since in the Early Christian era the Magi carry bowls, wreaths, vases, platters, and doves. On the door of S. Sabina the gifts resemble ostrich eggs, and loaves of bread and cornucopia are also found on the early sarcophagi. There appears to have been no fixed formula.

52. For a discussion of this question and the reference to Bede see Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France during the XIII century*, London, 1913, ed. Dora Nussey, pp. 213-215.

53. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Quart. 700.

54. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, I, fig. 7.

55. On nearly all the Catalan antependia the two-year-old Christ blesses with the right hand and holds an object in the left, a scroll, apple, or copy, of the Gospels. This

attitude, like the position of the frontal Virgin, is Palestinian-Coptic rather than Hellenistic in origin. In the catacomb frescoes the Child lies placidly in His mother's arms, a mere doll showing no signs of life. On the fourth century sarcophagi He is frequently represented with one or both hands outstretched as if welcoming the Magi, or He takes a wreath or bowl from the hands of the first Magus, as on a sarcophagus relief in the Lateran (Kehrer, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 14).

56. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, I, p. 13, n. 7.

The frontal Madonna with nimbus and veil and without the crown is also found in the apse frescoes of Catalonia. In the apse of the church of S. Maria de Tahull,<sup>57</sup> which has now been transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona, she is seated on a rich throne within a pointed mandorla. One of the kings (MELHIOR) stands on the left and two others (GASPAS and BALDASAR) are shown on the right. An unusual feature is the double portrayal of the star of Bethlehem (STELLA). A similar disposition of the Magi, where the Madonna is again frontal and uncrowned, appears in the apse of the church of S. Maria d'Esterri,<sup>58</sup> a fresco which is also housed in the Museum at Barcelona. Here the king on the left (MELHIOR) and the two (GASPAR and BALTASAR) on the right are relatively much smaller than in the preceding work and they are accompanied by large standing figures of Sts. Michael and Raphael, who hold standards in the Byzantine manner. Such an arrangement, in which the kings are placed on either side of the Madonna, is unusual in Western art, but it is common on early East Christian ivories and manuscripts. It produces an effect of balance and symmetry, which is such a distinguishing feature of Oriental art, and can be cited as further evidence of the strong Eastern influence in the Romanesque art of Catalonia.

#### THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

##### PANEL FROM SAGARS (CONTINUED)<sup>59</sup>

##### THE ENTOMBMENT

In my earlier article on the Old and New Testament panel from Sagars I omitted from the iconographical discussion the two subjects of which traces remain along the mutilated right edge of the panel. The end of a sarcophagus, which is plainly visible in the upper register, is the only evidence that the burial of Christ was depicted here in the same compartment with the Descent from the Cross. These two subjects are frequently found together and although the sepulcher is not limited to the Entombment alone there can be no doubt as to the identity of the missing scene. The form of the tomb here represented, a sarcophagus of the coffer type, shows clearly that the artist was following a Western rather than an Eastern model, and it is possible to restore the remainder of the lost scene by a study of other European versions of the subject.

The tomb in which Christ was buried, according to the Gospel accounts,<sup>60</sup> was hewn out of the solid rock and the opening was closed by rolling a stone in front of it. John states that it was in a garden, and both Matthew and John describe it as a new tomb. It is a rock-cut tomb that appears in the earliest Eastern representations, as in the ninth century Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (fol. 30v.),<sup>61</sup> where the Descent from the Cross is portrayed at the left, and on the right Joseph and Nicodemus carry the corpse in their arms toward the open doorway of the sepulcher.

57. Institut d'estudis catalans, *Les pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. III, pl. XIII.

58. *Ibid.*, fasc. III, pl. XVI.

59. Cf. *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, pp. 228 ff., fig. 29.

60. Matt. XXVII, 60; Mark XV, 46; Luke XXIII, 53; John XIX, 41; XX, 1. For the texts of later church

writers see Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe, et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1916, pp. 461-62.

61. Henri Omont, *Fac-similés des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VIe au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1902, pl. XXI.



FIG. 18—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page from Coptic Manuscript



FIG. 19—S. Angelo in Formis: Detail of Fresco on Nave Wall





FIG. 20—S. Domingo de Silos: Relief in Cloister



FIG. 21—Armentia (Alava), S. Andrés: Relief in South Porch

The dead body, shown with a crossed nimbus, is tightly swathed in bandages like a mummy, and the two bearers follow one another.

This type of burial was followed by later Byzantine artists, as shown by Gr. MS. 74 at Paris,<sup>62</sup> where the Entombment is shown on the same page with the Descent from the Cross. In some Eastern versions the burial is suggested rather than represented, as in the Cappadocian frescoes at Toqale<sup>63</sup> and in the Gospels of Petrograd,<sup>64</sup> where the sepulcher is omitted. The body is carried, however, in the same manner as in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus and a later survival in Byzantine art of this ninth century formula is found in the Slavic Gospels, dated 1607, in the monastery of Sucevitza, Roumania, where Joseph and Nicodemus carry the body toward a sepulcher hewn from the living rock and trees are shown in the background. The introduction of trees to suggest that the tomb was placed in a garden is not uncommon in Eastern art. In one of the scenes of Gr. MS. 74 (fol. 59v.) a single tree is depicted and in Coptic MS. no. 13 at Paris (Fig. 18)<sup>65</sup> the sepulcher is surrounded by shrubbery. In the latter manuscript, however, the two bearers do not follow one another, but Joseph, who supports the feet, walks backward through the open doorway. In other Byzantine examples the Virgin and Mary Magdalene appear in the scene, as shown by another page in Gr. MS. 74 (fol. 208v.),<sup>66</sup> where the two women follow directly behind the corpse, an arrangement also found in the seventeenth century Slavic Gospels at Sucevitza (fol. 290).

The earliest Western examples of the Entombment appear to have been influenced by Oriental models. In the Gospels of Angers, which is derived from an Eastern prototype, Joseph and Nicodemus carry the body by the head and feet (IOSEP ET NICHODEMUS PORTANTES IHESUM CHRISTUM SEPULCHRO) and the tomb itself is omitted. The corpse is enveloped in a shroud and the disciple who supports the feet walks backward as in Coptic MS. 13 (Fig. 18). On an ivory book-cover (c. 1000) in the Louvre the sepulcher is represented as an upright structure, built of ashlar masonry, with a semicircular doorway.<sup>67</sup> The two disciples carry the body, feet foremost, the Virgin follows and supports His head, and a fourth figure, shown beside the tomb, holds in his arms the slab which will close the entrance. In both these examples the Descent from the Cross is shown in the same composition.

During the later Middle Ages, however, the rock-hewn sepulcher was abandoned in Northern Europe in favor of an open sarcophagus of the coffer type. The reason for this change is still a matter of dispute. It may have been due to a desire on the part of the artist to represent the sepulcher in a more realistic fashion and in accordance with the Western form of burial. Some critics attribute the transformation to the influence of Western ritual and ceremonies in connection with Good Friday, such as the *Depositio Crucis* (or *Hostiæ*), where the Entombment was symbolized by placing a cross or Host in a representation of the sepulcher (*sepulchrum*). The *Depositio* was an extra-liturgical ceremony,

62. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, pls. 52, 88.

63. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 497.

64. *Ibid.*, fig. 485.

65. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Copte 13, fol. 276.

66. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines* . . . , pl. 181.

67. Illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, fig. 64; see also Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 492.

68. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser (VIII.-IX. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin, 1914, I, p. 45, no. 80; Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 523.

and preserved texts show that it was performed in England during the lifetime of Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, of the second half of the tenth century, and in Germany under the rule of St. Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg, who died in 973. In Southern Bavaria the *Imago Crucifixi* (the cross with the *corpus* affixed, or the *corpus* alone) was buried just after communion and a stone was placed on the sepulcher, and on Easter morning the *Imago* was raised again from the sepulcher by the senior clergy.<sup>69</sup> For such a symbolic burial a square coffer or miniature coffin undoubtedly served as the *sepulchrum* and it is possible that the change in the form of the Entombment in art was due to the influence of this ceremony.

Whatever may have been the origin of this type of sepulcher, it appears in Western scenes of the Entombment as early as the tenth century. In the Gospels of Otto I at Aachen,<sup>70</sup> Joseph and Nicodemus are about to lower the body from the cross and an open tomb of the coffer type lies in the foreground. This scene cannot be interpreted as an Entombment, as the body is not lowered into the tomb, whereas in the Gospels of Otto III at Munich<sup>71</sup> the burial itself is portrayed as a separate subject. In this and in other German examples, such as the Echternacher Codex at Gotha,<sup>72</sup> the action is farther advanced than on the Eastern monuments noted above. In the Echternacher Codex the two disciples (IOSEPH and NICHODEMUS) do not carry the body in their arms but are shown in the act of lowering the corpse into a large rectangular sarcophagus. Moreover, the Saviour's body is not swathed in bandages, but is clothed in a long mantle; the garden is indicated by a tree at either end of the composition and a distich above reads: GRANVM DEPOSITVM DE LIGNO MORTIFICATVM, OBSEQVIIS HORVM SEPELITVR FRVCTIFICANDVM. The Descent from the Cross and the Entombment are portrayed together in the same compartment,<sup>73</sup> as in Eastern examples and on our Catalan panel.

In Italy both Western and Eastern types were frequently combined in one composition and the strong influence exerted by Byzantine models can be shown by a scene on a Tuscan crucifix of the second half of the thirteenth century in the Academy at Florence.<sup>74</sup> The manner in which Nicodemus and Joseph bear the tightly swathed corpse toward the open doorway of a rock-hewn sepulcher is identical to that found in Gr. MS. 74 at Paris and the seventeenth century Slavic Gospels in the monastery of Sucevitza. It is interesting to note, however, that whereas the Byzantine artist usually portrays only the two bearers the later Italian painter includes the figures of St. John and the Virgin and a group of mourning women.

69. Neil C. Brooks, *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy with special reference to the Liturgic Drama*, in *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Urbana, 1921, VII, no. 2, pp. 30ff.

70. Stephan Beissel, *Die Bilder der Handschrift des Kaisers Otto im Münster zu Aachen*, Aachen, 1886, pl. 31.

71. Georg Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, Munich, I, pl. 50. Cf. also the Codex Egberti, where the Entombment is shown directly beneath the Descent from the Cross and the garden (HORTUS) is symbolized by two trees (Franz

X. Kraus, *Die Miniaturen des Codex Egberti in der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884, pl. LI).

72. Illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, fig. 65.

73. This appears again in a German manuscript in the Staatsbibliothek at Bremen (no. 21, fol. 58v.). For Ottonian examples of the Entombment shown separately see Heinrich Wölfflin, *Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, Munich 1921, figs. 54, 60.

74. Raimond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1923, I, pp. 348-349, fig. 186.



In many Italian versions a Northern sepulcher was adopted. Thus, on the nave wall of S. Angelo in Formis (1058-86) (Fig. 19)<sup>75</sup> the dead body of Christ is tightly swathed in the Byzantine fashion, but it is lowered by the two disciples into a Western sarcophagus of the coffer type, the sides of which are richly decorated with a strigil pattern and an egg and dart *motif*. The presence of the Virgin at the head of Christ and the figure of St. John in the background appear to be Italian innovations, since they do not appear in this position in contemporary Byzantine examples. Equally characteristic of Italy is the low vaulted crypt or ciborium supported by columns. Although this architectural feature reverts to Eastern sources it appears so frequently on mediaeval Italian monuments that it can be considered a distinctly local element. It is found on two painted crucifixes at Lucca, one in the church of S. Michele, and another from S. Maria dei Servi and now in the Museo Guinigi,<sup>76</sup> where the ciborium is free-standing and is supported by four columns. On each of these thirteenth century examples the two disciples stand at the head and feet and lower the corpse into a richly decorated sarcophagus in the same manner as in the Echternacher Codex. That this iconographic type was known in Southern as well as in Northern Italy is shown by the bronze doors of the cathedral at Benevento,<sup>77</sup> where the ciborium and sarcophagus are also represented and one of the disciples holds the sarcophagus lid.

The dramatic possibilities of this scene were not overlooked by the Italian artist and the expression of tender sentiment on the part of the Mother of Christ becomes the dominating note during the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. In many of the earlier Byzantine examples, such as the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, the Virgin is not represented, and on others she follows the dead body at a respectful distance, or she kneels beside the body and gazes into the sepulcher but does not touch His body, as in the Laurentian Gospels.<sup>78</sup> In later versions, on the other hand, such as the Gospels of Parma,<sup>79</sup> she leans over Him and throws her arms about His neck. This expression of emotion on the part of the Virgin appears as early as the eleventh century, as shown by the fresco at S. Angelo in Formis (Fig. 19), where the mother leans over the Saviour's head and touches His shoulder. During the twelfth century she clasps her dead Son in her arms and not only the mother but the other figures as well betray their sorrow.

On a Tuscan crucifix in the Academy at Florence<sup>80</sup> she throws her arms about the Saviour's neck and presses His head against her cheek; St. John no longer stands in the background as in Fig. 19 but approaches nearer, lays both hands on the Virgin's shoulder, and gazes into the face of the dead Christ. The mourning women, who stand at the head and foot of the tomb, rest their heads on their hands in an expression of sorrow. In the thirteenth century an almost identical composition is found on the painted crucifix by Enrico di Tedice in the church of S. Martino at Pisa,<sup>81</sup> where the Virgin again leans over

75. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 138 ff., fig. 65.

76. For the ensemble of these two crosses see Oswald Sirén, *Toskanische Maler im XIII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1922, figs. 10, 11.

77. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1904, III, fig. 651.

78. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 529.

79. *Ibid.*, fig. 531.

80. This crucifix, of the second half of the twelfth century, formerly hung in the Uffizi (no. 3) (van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 206 ff., fig. 100).

81. Sirén *op. cit.*, fig. 57. According to van Marle (*ibid.*, I, pp. 328-329) Enrico di Tedice is mentioned in a Pisan document of 1254 and this cross bears an inscription, which in the seventeenth century could be read: ENRICUS QUONDAM TEDICI ME PINXIT.

the Saviour and clasps Him in her arms and the Magdalene stands in the background, with upstretched arms in the attitude of an orant. The figure of John is omitted in this example but on the painted crucifix at Rossano, near Pontassieve,<sup>82</sup> the Favorite Disciple holds the edge of the linen shroud with his right hand and touches the Saviour's arm with his left, and on an early Italian panel at New Haven he leans over the recumbent figure and kisses His hand.<sup>83</sup>

Once introduced, the emotional element was more and more emphasized, as in the Descent from the Cross, and in the final evolution of the type the idea of the entombment was completely overshadowed by the *threnos*, or the mourning at the Saviour's tomb. The transformation which occurred in the Gothic period is shown in a late thirteenth century diptych in the Vanucci Gallery at Perugia,<sup>84</sup> where the Virgin, seated on the edge of the sarcophagus, takes the dead body of her Son in her lap, clasps Him in her arms and kisses Him on the mouth; St. John kisses His right hand and Mary Magdalene kneels and kisses His feet. Joseph and Nicodemus, who are placed in the background together with the mourning women, play a relatively unimportant rôle but in other examples they also kiss the hands and feet. In the majority of these later Italian versions the sepulcher is of the coffer type, but occasionally the artist portrays the scene at the foot of a rock, as on a late thirteenth century crucifix at S. Gimignano,<sup>85</sup> or another in the cathedral at Pistoia,<sup>86</sup> where the body lies on a linen shroud spread on the ground. This conception of the scene, in which the mourning mother is surrounded by a group of women and disciples,<sup>87</sup> passed from Italy into other countries of Europe; a German example is found in the thirteenth century Gospels from St. Martin, Cologne (Fig. 24),<sup>88</sup> which faithfully reproduces the spirit of the Italian examples.<sup>89</sup>

In the art of Spain the Entombment is seldom represented prior to the Romanesque period, and the earliest known Spanish example, found in the Gerona Beatus of 975 (fol. 17),<sup>90</sup> shows a strange mixture of iconographic types. The body of Christ, wrapped like a mummy with the exception of the head, has already been placed in a large open sarcophagus and is guarded by two soldiers (CUSTODES CORPVS D(OMI)NI), who are armed with long swords. Joseph of Arimathea (JOSEB) is seated on a circular stone

82. *Ibid.*, I, p. 208; Sirén, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185, fig. 54. Cf. also the scene on a crucifix of the second half of the thirteenth century in the Gallery at Pisa (van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 292-294, figs. 146, 147).

83. Attributed to a follower of Bonaventura Berlinghieri by van Marle (*ibid.*, I, p. 323, fig. 169).

84. Attributed to "the Master of St. Francis" (*ibid.*, I, p. 396, fig. 222); Sirén, *op. cit.*, fig. 74.

85. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 349-352, fig. 187.

86. For an ensemble of this crucifix see Sirén, *op. cit.*, fig. 97.

87. For other examples of this type in Italy and in the East see Millet, *op. cit.*, figs. 538, 539, 541-547, 550, 552-556, 558-562.

88. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. lat. 9222, fol. 88v. (J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, Brussels, 1901-19, I, no. 466, p. 292).

89. All these late versions can best be explained by the

earlier literary accounts of such Eastern writers as George of Nicomedia: "when the sacred body had been lowered and placed on the ground she threw herself upon Him and bathed Him with warm tears, and with a soft voice she murmured: 'Now, Oh Lord, the mystery which had been foreseen is fulfilled. Now Thy incarnation has been brought to an end. I kiss the mouth, the motionless lips of Him who has created all visible nature. I kiss the closed eyes of Him who has brought sight to the blind, and having thus glorified Him, she covered the spotless body with burial linen, with a rich shroud'" (Sermon VIII, Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. C, col. 1480). According to Metaphrastes she took Him in her arms: "on my breast thou hast often slept the sleep of childhood, now on my breast thou shalt sleep the sleep of death" (Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, vol. CXIV, col. 209 ff.). See also Millet, *op. cit.*, pp. 489 ff.

90. Wilhelm Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei*, Bonn, Leipzig, 1922, fig. 172.



FIG. 22—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Page from  
*Limoges Gospels*

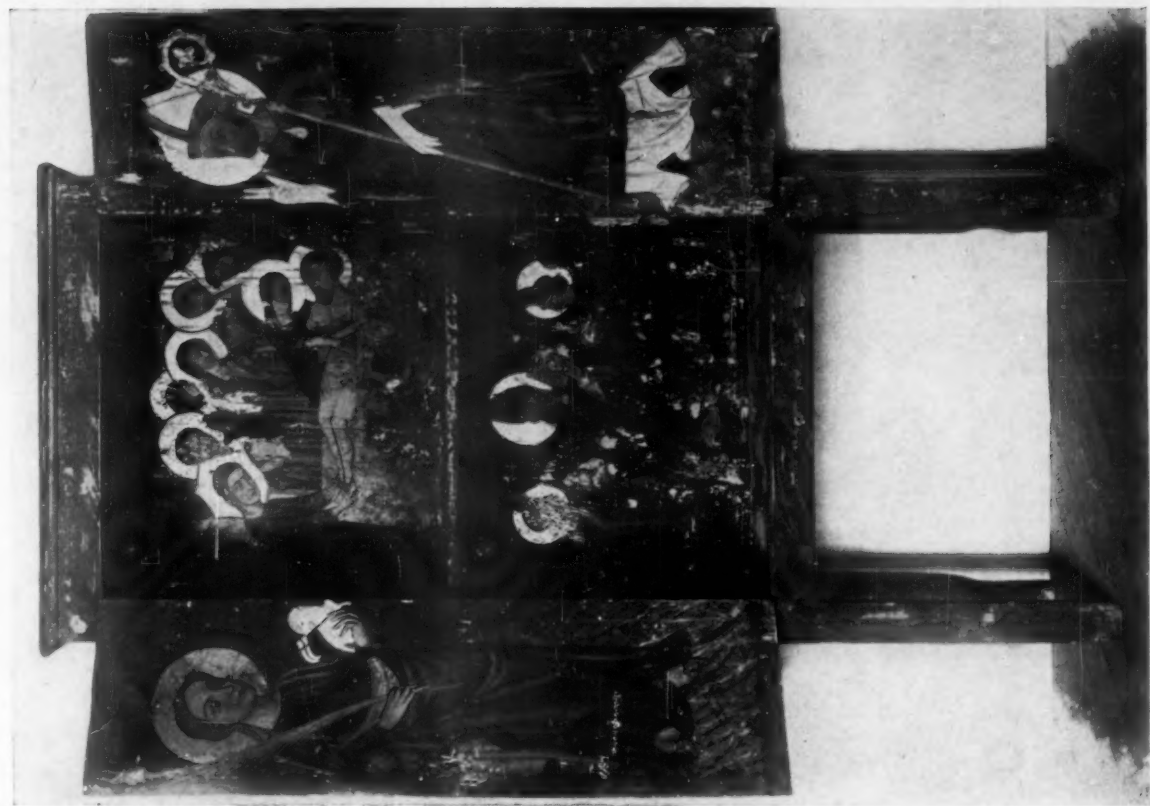


FIG. 23—Barcelona, Museum of Fine Arts: Painted  
Cupboard from Perpignan





FIG. 24—Brussels, *Bibl. Roy.*: *Page of Gospels from St. Martin, Cologne*



FIG. 25—Huesca, *Provincial Museum*: *Capital from Church of S. Pedro el Viejo (Photo. Mas)*

or hillock behind the tomb, and addresses the two holy women who approach from the right. The open sarcophagus proves that the artist was familiar with Western models, but the introduction of the two Maries and the seated figure of Joseph shows clearly that he has confused the Entombment with the Eastern formula of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher.

It is not at all impossible that the unusual mixture found in the Gerona Beatus represents a native Spanish tradition, since the burial and visit of the holy women at the sepulcher are combined again on later Spanish monuments. On a pier relief in the cloister of the monastery of S. Domingo de Silos (Fig. 20), executed about the middle of the twelfth century,<sup>91</sup> a shallow sarcophagus with the linen shroud draped over the edge divides the composition horizontally. The body has already been lowered into position and Joseph and Nicodemus lean forward to adjust the arms and legs. The composition is more logical than that shown in the Gerona Beatus, since an angel rather than Joseph of Arimathaea addresses the holy women. The sarcophagus lid is placed in a diagonal position and the angel (ANGELVS), seated at the upper end, greets the three holy women (MARIA MAGDALENE, MARIA IACOBI, ET SALOME) with the words: NIL FORMIDETIS, VIVIT DEVS, ECCE VIDETIS. In a separate compartment directly beneath the tomb appear the armed guards, who wear chain mail and steel helmets.

Such a combination or confusion of two scenes appears again in the late twelfth century on a relief in the south porch of the church of S. Andrés at Armentia (Alava) (Fig. 21),<sup>92</sup> where the soldiers are again placed beneath the sepulcher and the three Maries are shown in the upper half of the composition. In other respects, however, the later artist departed from the Silos model, since the angel is seated at the foot of the tomb, additional angels are introduced, and Joseph and Nicodemus do not lower the body but are represented in the act of anointing it with oil. This aspect of the burial, which is also found on a page of the Limoges Gospels in the Morgan Library (Fig. 22),<sup>93</sup> is undoubtedly derived from earlier Eastern models, since it appears, as Millet has shown, on an eleventh century Georgian ikon from Chémokmédi,<sup>94</sup> where the dead body lies on a stone slab.

Although the mixed scenes found at Silos and at Armentia are of extreme interest they must be listed as exceptions, since the Romanesque artists of Spain more frequently followed the formula current in France and Germany. That the Spanish artist conceived the sepulcher of Christ as a simple coffin can be illustrated by a Romanesque capital from the church of S. Pedro el Viejo (Fig. 25), now in the Provincial Museum at Huesca. The tomb, toward which the body of Christ is being borne, is slightly higher at the head than at the foot and the sides are ornamented with a series of circles. It is identical in shape with the simple sarcophagi which were in common use in Aragon at this period.

91. For a discussion of the date of this and other reliefs in the cloister see Paul Deschamps, *Notes sur la sculpture romane en Languedoc et dans le nord de l'Espagne*, in *Bulletin monumental*, Paris, 1923, LXXXII, pp. 339 ff. The relief measures 1.78 x 0.90m.

92. For a discussion of the church see Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana Española en la Edad Media*, Madrid, 1908, I, pp. 609-612. It is possible that these reliefs were executed during the life-

time of Rodericus, bishop of Calahorra (1149-1189), who was the donor of the portal of the church at Armentia.

93. Morgan MS. no. 44, fol. 10v. Typical Gothic versions of the anointing of Christ, preparatory to burial are found in a thirteenth century English Psalter in the Morgan Library (MS. no. 302, fol. 5) (*The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, fig. 73) and in the fourteenth century Du Bois Psalter (c. 1325) of the East Anglian School (Morgan MS. no. 700, fol. 48).

94. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 499.

On another capital, now in the cloister of the church of S. Pedro el Viejo (Fig. 26),<sup>95</sup> the scene approximates the Ottonian formula more closely. Here the two disciples are placed at the head and feet and they lower the corpse into the sarcophagus in the same manner as in the Echternacher Codex. An additional feature, however, which does not appear in the German example, is the presence of two angels who appear above from the clouds and swing censers over the recumbent figure. The introduction of angels into this scene was especially common during the Romanesque period and they are much more clearly shown on a cloister capital (c. 1200) in the church of S. Pedro la Rúa at Estella, Navarre (Fig. 27),<sup>96</sup> where Joseph and Nicodemus stand at the head and foot of a richly decorated sarcophagus, which rests on short columns, and lower the corpse in a linen shroud. The manner in which the body is lowered, with the ends of the shroud passing over the shoulders of the two disciples, was especially common in France and Spain during the Gothic period. Later during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Spanish artists followed Italian rather than French models, and the transformation of type which occurred can be illustrated by the scene on a Catalan cupboard from Perpignan (Fig. 23), where the Virgin takes her dead Son in her arms and the body is surrounded by mourning women and disciples.

From such examples as the above it is possible to form some idea of the missing scene of the Entombment on our Catalan panel at Solsona. We have already noted that the artist has represented a deep sarcophagus of the coffer type, which is supported by short columns as on the late Romanesque capital at Estella (Fig. 27). In the latter example Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathæa stand at either end, but the absence of any figure on our panel would indicate that the two disciples must have been placed directly behind the tomb, as on the relief at Silos (Fig. 20) or in the Limoges Gospels (Fig. 22). Whether the body of Christ was being lowered on a shroud or anointed for burial it is impossible to determine.

#### THE HOLY WOMEN AT THE SEPULCHER

The Holy Women at the Sepulcher, originally represented in the lower register of the Sagars panel, directly beneath the Entombment, is almost entirely lost. All that now remains is the spiral joint of the wing of the angel that guarded the tomb and this lost subject, as in the case of the Entombment above, can be only broadly restored by a study of other mediaeval versions. However, the evolution of the type in Romanesque art is so interesting, and the iconographic peculiarities of the Spanish examples are so little known, that the following treatment will doubtless prove useful, even though it will lead us somewhat far afield and in the end will not permit more than a conjectural restoration of the scene on the Catalan panel.

Prior to the thirteenth century the Resurrection was seldom represented in Christian art,<sup>97</sup> but this event was symbolized during the early mediaeval period by the Holy Women

95. For a discussion of the capitals of San Pedro el Viejo see Ricardo del Arco, *Los capiteles románicos en Aragón*, in *Arquitectura*, Madrid, 1922, 1923, 1924. Much light has recently been thrown on the chronology of this and other Aragonese monuments of the Romanesque period (T. B., *La escultura románica aragonesa y el crismón de los tímpanos de las iglesias de la región pirenaica*, in *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, 1926, no. 6, pp. 287-291).

96. This church has been briefly discussed by Lampérez, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 608-609.

97. Isolated early examples of the Resurrection are found in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS. lat. 17325, fol. 30v.) and on a capital from the Daurade in the museum at Toulouse (Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, fig. 112). The thirteenth century type can be illustrated by a page from an English Psalter in the Morgan Library (MS. no. 302, fol. 5) (*The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, fig. 73).





FIG. 26—Huesca, S. Pedro el Viejo: Romanesque Capital in Cloister (Photo. Mas)



FIG. 27—Estella, S. Pedro la Rúa: Capital in Cloister (Photo. Mas)



FIG 28—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page from Coptic Manuscript

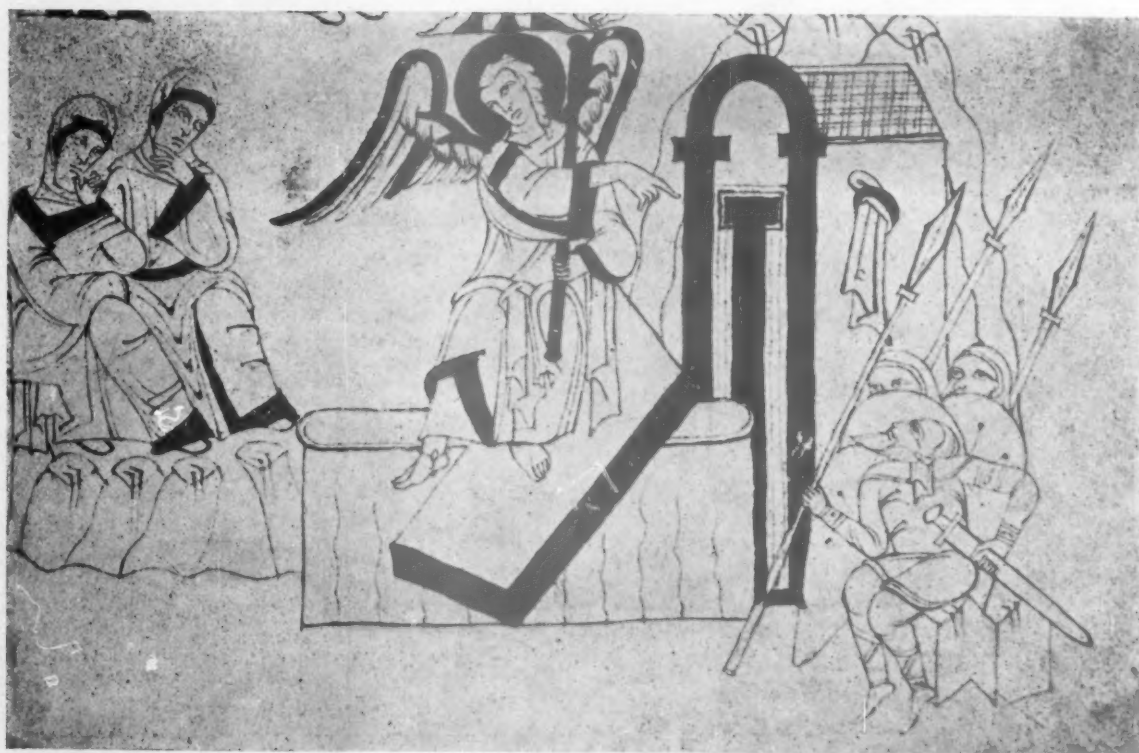


FIG. 29—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Page from Matilda Gospels

at the Sepulcher. The iconography of this scene can be roughly divided into two general types, an Eastern, in which two holy women are depicted, and a Western, which shows three. The Hellenistic, East Christian, and Byzantine artists follow the text of Matthew: "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulcher. And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow: And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men" (XXVIII, 1-4).

The later artists of the West, on the other hand, follow the text of Mark, which mentions Mary Magdalene, Mary the Mother of James, and Salome: "And very early in the morning, the first day of the week, they came unto the sepulcher at the rising of the sun. And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulcher? And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away: for it was very great. And entering into the sepulcher, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment; and they were affrighted" (XVI, 2-5). The chief elements in the representation of this scene are the tomb, the angel, and the holy women; sometimes guards are included, and occasionally a tree is shown, in order to localize the scene which took place, according to John (XIX, 41; XX, 1), in a garden. If the subject is classified according to the forms of the sepulcher, it is possible, as Brooks has shown,<sup>98</sup> to distinguish two Eastern versions, an East Christian (Syro-Palestinian and Coptic) and a mediaeval Byzantine type, and three Western versions, a Hellenistic type, a "temple type," and a "coffer-tomb type."

The East Christian type is closely associated with the cult of the Holy Sepulcher; Charles R. Morey in a recent study<sup>99</sup> concludes that the most faithful reproduction of the Constantinian monument erected over the tomb of Christ at Jerusalem has been preserved on the early painted panel in the Sancta Sanctorum at Rome. On this small panel, which was executed, according to Morey, in the sixth century and is the only certain piece of Palestinian painting of the Early Christian period, the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher appears in the upper left-hand corner. The dome of the Anastasis is shown above the shrine of the sepulcher, the doors of the *cancelli* are open and within appears the altar that stood before the rock-cut tomb itself. The dome, containing windows at the base, is represented without supporting walls, in the descriptive manner frequently found in Early Christian art. This rendering of Constantine's church is much more accurate than that on the Syro-Palestinian sixth century ampullae at Monza and Bobbio,<sup>100</sup> which Morey believes are imperfect copies of such a painted model as the Vatican panel.

The scene on the painted panel shows the sepulcher in the center of the composition. A winged angel, wearing greenish-yellow robes and a nimbus is seated on the right, with the right hand raised in a gesture of speech. The two holy women, clad in long robes and

98. Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.

99. Charles R. Morey, *The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum* in *Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag von Paul Clemen*, 31, Oktober, 1926, Düsseldorf, Bonn, 1926, pp. 151 ff. See also Ph. Lauer, *Le trésor du Sancta Sanctorum* in *Monuments et mémoires, Fondation Piot*, Paris, 1906, XV, p. 97 ff., pl. XIV, fig. 2.

100. Morey, *op. cit.*, figs. 2, 4, 12; P. Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana . . .*, Prato, 1880, VI, pls. 433/8; 434; 435/1. See also August Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig, 1908; and Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15; Padre Celi, *Cimeli Bobbiesi*, Rome, 1923, in *Civiltà Cattolica*.



with large nimbi, approach from the opposite side on the left. The second figure from the left, or "the other Mary" of Matthew, who wears a black mantle with white dots, has been identified by Morey as the Virgin, since the same black mantle with white spots is worn by the Mother of God in the adjacent scene of the Ascension. This composition, which shows the sepulcher between the angel and the two holy women, was reproduced on the ampullae at Monza and Bobbio, where the *tugurium* is a rectangular or hexagonal structure with double doors, surmounted by a pyramidal roof or ciborium. The angel on the right frequently holds a long rod in the left hand and the holy women carry a censer or ointment vase. Although slight variations are found in these examples the main features of the composition are identical and it is the iconographic type found on this Vatican panel which was widely copied throughout the East.<sup>101</sup>

Another East Christian variant, derived from Syro-Palestinian models, is preserved on Coptic ivories of the sixth and seventh centuries. Here, however, the two Maries do not follow one another as on the Vatican panel and the Monza phials but are placed on either side of an arched canopy or ciborium. This can be illustrated by an ivory pyxis at Sitten, where an angel is seated underneath the arched canopy; each of the holy women carries a censer and two apostles and six guards are also included in the scene.<sup>102</sup> A similar disposition of the two Maries is found on a sixth century Coptic pyxis in the Morgan collection at the Metropolitan Museum, where the angel and guards are omitted. The two women approach a quadrangular ciborium, three sides of which are visible, and an altar stands in the middle. An unusual feature of this ivory is the quadrangular block of stone inscribed with a cross, which lies on the *mensa* of the altar. This Goldschmidt believes<sup>103</sup> to be the *lapis ostii monumenti* which Adamnanus saw in the seventh century before the entrance to the Holy Sepulcher at Jerusalem.<sup>104</sup>

In the later Byzantine formula, which Brooks has called the "mediaeval Byzantine type," the chief emphasis is placed on the angel rather than on the sepulcher. Thus, on a twelfth century metal book-cover in the Louvre<sup>105</sup> a large and imposing angel is seated nearly full face in the center of the composition and the sepulcher, a simple rock-cut tomb with the linen shroud shown inside the doorway, is placed on the right. In his left hand the angel holds a long rod or scepter terminating in a fleuron and with his right he points

101. Cf. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, bronze censer from Dêir Amba Chenouda (*Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1908, IX, pl. III); Cairo, Fouquet collection, silver bracelet from Sakkarah (*ibid.*, p. 246, fig. 1); Cairo, Egyptian Museum, silver bracelet (*ibid.*, p. 251, fig. 4); Paris, Louvre, Béarn collection, silver band (*ibid.*, p. 253, no. VIII); Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, bronze censer, sixth-seventh century (Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1909, I, no. 967, pl. XLVII); Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, bronze ring, seventh-eighth century (*ibid.*, no. 885, pl. XLII). This Eastern formula is found as late as the twelfth century in the Syriac Gospels of the British Museum (Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 564). For additional examples which show the prevalence of this type see *ibid.*, pp. 518-519 and notes.

102. Adolph Goldschmidt, *Mittelstücke fünfteiliger Elfenbeintafeln des VI-VII Jahrhunderts*, in *Jahrb. f.*

*Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 30 ff., pl. 7, figs. 2-4. Prof. Goldschmidt also publishes an ivory panel in the Seligmann collection at Cologne which shows the angel seated under an arched canopy or ciborium (*ibid.*, pl. 5, fig. 1).

103. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

104. Although two Maries are almost invariably portrayed in the East Christian formula a single Mary is sometimes found, as shown by a group of bronze censers in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (Wulff, *op. cit.*, I, nos. 968-971, pl. XLVII). For a discussion of other East Christian examples see Anton Baumstark, *Ein vorkonstantinischer Bildtyp des Myrophorenganges*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1923, vol. 31, pp. 5-20.

105. Venturi, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 643-44; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 560.

across his body toward the open doorway. The two holy women, who stand on the left, do not carry censers and ointment vases, as in the early East Christian examples, and one of the women appears to step backward in an attitude of doubt or surprise. The diminutive size of the guards, who lie before the entrance to the tomb, indicates how unimportant a feature this was in the mind of the Byzantine artist.

The manner in which the angel is seated is a characteristic feature of the Byzantine formula. On the Louvre book-cover the angel sits on the sloping side of the rock-cut tomb, but more frequently he is placed on a block of stone near the entrance, an allusion to the words of Matthew: "the angel of the Lord descended from Heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it." In Coptic MS. 13 (Fig. 28),<sup>106</sup> which reproduces an earlier model, the angel sits on a large circular stone; the two women with censers approach from the right and the sepulcher is shown on the left, whereas on another page (fol. 215) of the same manuscript<sup>107</sup> the holy women come from the left, as in the majority of Byzantine examples. The use of a circular stone is comparatively rare and more frequently the angel is seated on a large square block, placed directly beside the entrance of the rock-cut tomb, as on an ivory diptych in the cathedral of Milan,<sup>108</sup> in Gr. MS. 74 at Paris,<sup>109</sup> and in copies of Byzantine Gospels at Iviron (no. 5), Parma, and Petrograd.<sup>110</sup> That this *motif* may have originated in the East is suggested by the scene in the sixth century Rabula Gospels,<sup>111</sup> where the angel is seated at the left of the *tugurium* on a square block of stone similar in shape to that found in later Byzantine examples.

The representation of more than two holy women on Byzantine monuments is rare, but occasional exceptions may be noted. The use of three women, as in the Melissenda Psalter in London,<sup>112</sup> is usually indicative of Western influence, and sometimes four and five are included in the scene.<sup>113</sup> Four holy women are found in Gr. MS. 74 at Paris<sup>114</sup> and such a model as this was undoubtedly responsible for the representation of four women in the Bible of Farfa (Fig. 42) and on the Italian painted crucifix of 1138 in the cathedral at Sarzana. The late persistence of exceptions of this kind can be illustrated by the Slavic Gospels (fol. 85) of the monastery of Sucevitza, Roumania. Here the angel is seated on a large quadrangular block of stone at the entrance to the sepulcher and the four holy women approach in single file, a detail which the Slavic artist copied directly from Gr. MS. 74 at Paris.

Mediaeval Italy, as one might expect, furnishes a bewildering assortment of East Christian, Byzantine, and Western versions of this scene.<sup>115</sup> The early East Christian formula, where the sepulcher is placed in the center of the composition, appears in the sixth century mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna,<sup>116</sup> and the usual Eastern com-

106. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. Copte 13, fol. 86.

107. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 565.

108. Brooks, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

109. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI siècle . . .*, I, pls. 54, 89; II, pl. 181.

110. Millet, *op. cit.*, figs. 567, 568, 570.

111. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 139/1.

112. Millet, *op. cit.*, fig. 569.

113. For a list of examples see Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 520, n. 7 and 8.

114. Omont, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 54, 89.

115. One of the earliest known Italian versions is found in mosaic in the baptismal church of St. John at Naples, of the second half of the fourth century. This is badly mutilated and practically nothing remains of the composition. The angel is apparently seated on a block of stone at the entrance to a rich sepulcher and the Maries approach from the left (Joseph Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917, III, pl. 37, fig. 2).

116. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 251/6.

position is here reversed, since the angel is seated on a rock at the left of a *tempietto* and the two Maries approach from the right with hands outstretched. This arrangement undoubtedly influenced later Italian artists, since it is found again on the lower half of an ivory plaque in the Louvre, which Goldschmidt dates in the eleventh century and assigns to Southern Italy.<sup>117</sup> In this example a small *tempietto* rests directly on an open sarcophagus and the two women hold censers. The same composition is also found on the eleventh century ivory antependium in the cathedral of Salerno,<sup>118</sup> but here the sepulcher is more richly fashioned and three guards are included in the scene.

In the majority of Byzantine examples mentioned above the sepulcher of Christ is portrayed as a rock-hewn tomb in accordance with the texts of the evangelists, but a common Italian variant of the Byzantine composition shows a sarcophagus surmounted by a domed canopy or ciborium. This Italian form of the ciborium undoubtedly reverts to some early East Christian model<sup>119</sup> and it may have been employed in early Byzantine manuscripts, but the best preserved examples are found on Italian monuments executed under Byzantine influence. On the frescoed wall of S. Angelo in Formis an open sarcophagus of the coffer type, surmounted by a domed canopy, is partially concealed by the huge block of stone on which the angel is seated. The sarcophagus is rectangular in form and the sides are decorated, as in Early Christian or Roman examples, with a strigil *motif* and egg and dart pattern. With the exception of the tomb, however, the scene is drawn according to the usual Byzantine formula, since a large and imposing angel holds a long scepter in the left hand and with the right points across the body toward the linen shroud, and on the left the two holy women step backward in surprise as on the Louvre book-cover.

This sarcophagus and ciborium version was frequently reproduced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and an almost identical composition is found on two painted crucifixes at Lucca, one in the church of S. Michele,<sup>120</sup> and another which formerly hung in the Chiesa dei Servi, now in the Guinigi Museum (Fig. 30). In each of these examples the angel is seated on a small block of stone placed against the side of the sarcophagus and not on a large square block as in the eleventh century fresco at S. Angelo in Formis.<sup>121</sup> The arbitrary treatment of the old sarcophagus *motif*, showing both the decorative strigil pattern and a modified form of the vertical Byzantine rock-cut tomb, with the linen shroud in the doorway, is unique. The artist has obviously attempted to combine two separate models, neither of which he understood, and the sarcophagus which he portrays more nearly resembles a child's cradle than a tomb.

Frequently this composition was modified by Western peculiarities, such as the use of three instead of two holy women. On the painted crucifix in the Gallery at Pisa,<sup>122</sup> where a large ciborium is supported by nine columns, the angel is seated on a sloping slab of stone, and three women approach from the left with ointment vases in their hands. They

117. Adolf Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Romanischen Zeit (XI.-XIII. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin, 1926, IV, p. 42, no. 142.

118. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVII, no. 126, fig. 38, p. 36 ff.

119. Cf. also a bronze censer in the museum at Cairo, from D  ir Amba Chenouda (*Annales Ser. Ant. Egypte*, IX, 1908, p. 148, pl. III).

120. An unusual composition is found in an Exultet Roll at Capua, where the ciborium and sarcophagus appear twice on the same page (A. M. Latil, *Le miniature nei rotoli dell'Exultet*, Montecassino, 1899, Capua, pl. I).

121. Cf. note 76, above.

122. For an ensemble of this crucifix see van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 292-94, fig. 146; Venturi, *op. cit.*, V, p. 11, fig. 9.



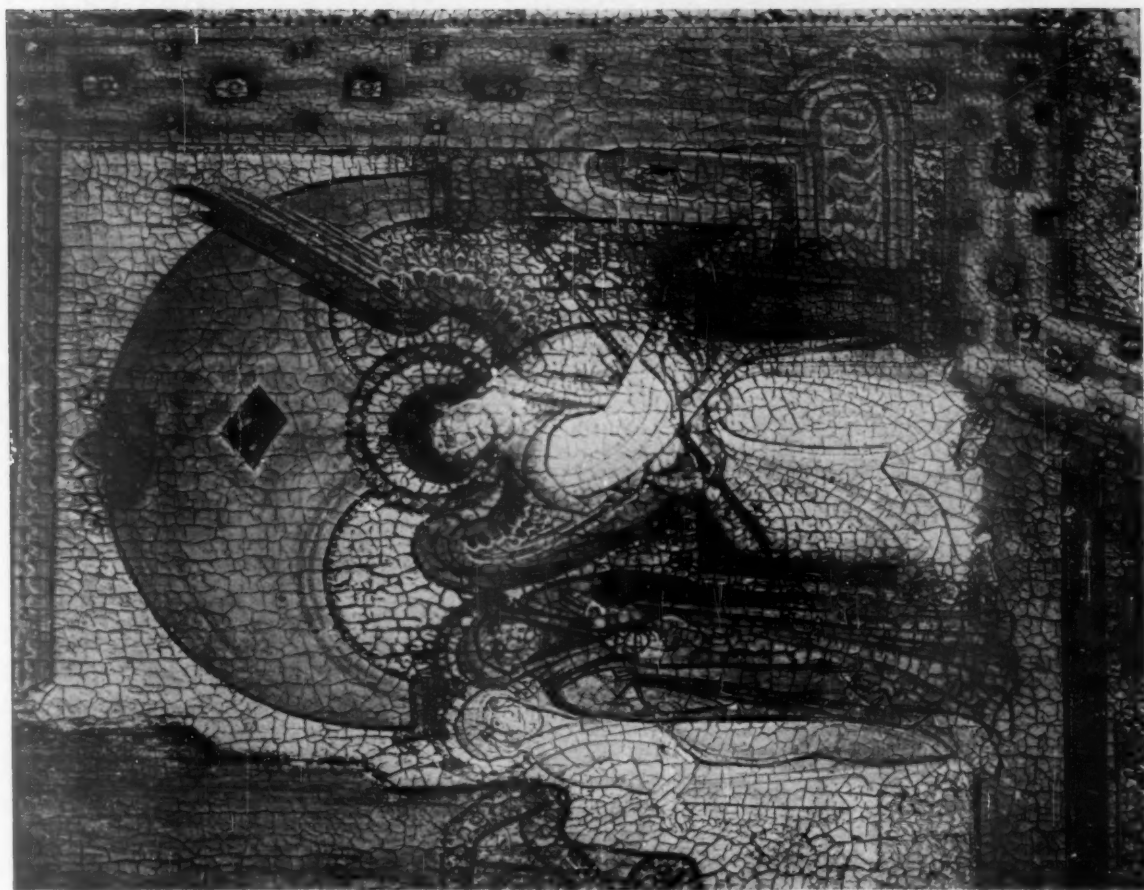


FIG. 30—Lucca, Museo Guinigi: Detail of Painted Crucifix



FIG. 31—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page from *Prüm Troper*



FIG. 32—Puy de Dôme, Church of St.-Nectaire:  
Detail of Romanesque Capital

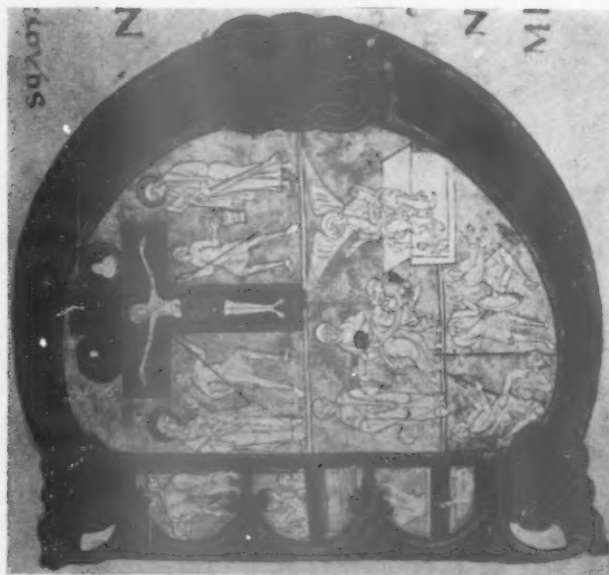


FIG. 33—Boulogne-sur-Mer, Municipal  
Library: Page from St.-Berin Psalter



FIG. 34—Leon, Cathedral: Page from  
Mozarabic Antiphonary

shrink backward in surprise and are modeled in the Byzantine tradition, but the number shows clearly that the artist was influenced by Northern models. Three women are also portrayed on the crucifix by Enrico di Tedice in the church of S. Martino at Pisa,<sup>123</sup> where the sarcophagus, surmounted by a simple ciborium supported by four columns, is placed at the foot of a sloping rock. At other times the Italian artist is a little further removed from the Byzantine formula, as illustrated by an earlier crucifix in the Gallery at Pisa.<sup>124</sup> Here an angel sits on a block of stone, as in the Byzantine versions of this scene, but he points toward an open sarcophagus, the end of which is turned toward the spectator, and the ciborium has been replaced by a decorative arcade or open loggia.<sup>125</sup>

Another Western detail that often appears in this Italian version is the gesture of the angel, directed toward the approaching women and not toward the linen shroud or sepulcher as on Byzantine monuments. Thus, on the late twelfth century bronze doors of the cathedral at Benevento<sup>126</sup> the right hand of the angel does not cross the body but he points toward the three holy women. The same gesture appears again in a copy of the Gospels completed in the year 1170 by Isidoro and now preserved in the treasury of the cathedral at Padua,<sup>127</sup> where two holy women are represented in the Eastern fashion but the open portico with soldiers asleep on the roof is Northern rather than Byzantine.

The Byzantine type in which the sepulcher is a rock-cut tomb was also freely copied by Italian artists during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A thirteenth century painted crucifix of the Tuscan school, now in the Academy at Florence,<sup>128</sup> reproduces almost exactly the formula found on Byzantine monuments. The tall rock with a narrow opening, which shows the linen shroud hanging within and a group of soldiers asleep at the entrance, is almost identical with that found on the Louvre book-cover. The gesture of the angel seated on the long slab which closed the entrance to the tomb, as well as the attitude of the Maries, who shrink backward in surprise, might have been copied directly from a Byzantine manuscript. Equally Byzantine is the figure and drapery style but the representation of three instead of two holy women betrays the Western origin of this work. The introduction of three Maries, in fact, into a composition which shows the angel seated in the Byzantine manner beside a rock-hewn sepulcher, is a fairly frequent occurrence on the early painted crucifixes of Tuscany. Three Maries are found on a crucifix in the church of Rossano, near Pontassieve<sup>129</sup> and the scene on a crucifix in the church at Tereglio<sup>130</sup> shows how closely in touch the Italian artist was with his original Byzantine models, since only the top of the head and a portion of the sleeve of the third Mary are represented. This third figure appears to have been added into a two-Mary composition as an after-thought, whereas in a fresco of the first half of the thirteenth century in the crypt of SS. Cosma e Damiano at Rome<sup>131</sup> each of the three holy women is clearly distinguished.

123. Van Marle (*ibid.*, I, pp. 328-9, fig. 172).

124. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 210-12, fig. 102.

125. Three women are also found on the sculptured architrave in the sacristy of the cathedral of Monopoli (Bari) (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 622, p. 661; A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, pl. 157). In an Exultet Roll at Montecassino the sarcophagus is placed under an arcade (Latil, *op. cit.*, pl. 12).

126. Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 652.

127. *Ibid.*, III, fig. 425, pp. 454-455; Andrea Mochetti, *Il tesoro della cattedrale di Padova*, in *Dedalo*, anno VI, fasc. II, July 1925, pp. 84 ff.

128. Formerly in the Uffizi (no. 4) (van Marle, *op. cit.*, I, fig. 186, pp. 348-349).

129. For a reproduction of this crucifix cf. note 82 above.

130. Dr. Offner dates this crucifix about 1270-80.

131. (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 266). This is one of the most beautiful of all Italian examples of this type.



This combination of Eastern and Western elements, which is everywhere apparent in Italy during the thirteenth century, frequently resulted in picturesque compositions. Thus, on a painted crucifix in the cathedral of Pistoia<sup>132</sup> a Byzantine angel is seated on the edge of a long sarcophagus placed at the foot of a sloping rock. The sloping rock and the angel's gesture are features borrowed from a Byzantine model, but the manner in which the angel is seated on the edge of the sarcophagus, the sloping lid placed in a diagonal position across the top, and the introduction of three holy women are details borrowed from Northern sources. On this example the sleeping guards are omitted, but on the Madonna panel in the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Florence<sup>133</sup> they are placed at the foot of the sarcophagus, as on German and French monuments; moreover, the angel points in the Western manner toward the women and not toward the linen shroud.

That this tradition of combining the Western sarcophagus and the Byzantine rock-hewn tomb was established fairly early in Italian art can be proved by a page from the Matilda Gospels in the Morgan Library (Fig. 29).<sup>134</sup> A Northern sarcophagus with sloping lid lies outside an upright Eastern sepulcher,<sup>135</sup> which is placed against a rocky background. Although the angel holds a scepter and points across his body in the Byzantine fashion he is seated on the sloping lid of the sarcophagus as in Northern examples and the two Maries at the left do not stand but are seated on a rock. The Western sarcophagus and rocky background were retained by Italian artists down to the Renaissance.

After our examination of the two Eastern versions of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher, together with the East Christian and Byzantine variants found in the mediaeval art of Italy, we can now pass to Western Europe, where, as already noted, three distinct types can be distinguished. The first is the Hellenistic formula found on sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries, where the sepulcher is a simple cylindrical structure with a conical roof. It is this form that appears on a sarcophagus of the second half of the fourth century at Rome,<sup>136</sup> which is one of the earliest representations in Christian art of the Holy Sepulcher. Here the two women kneel before the figure of the risen Christ and the circular tower, placed in the background and partially concealed by the two women, has a cupola roof and a single window. On a sarcophagus from Servannes near Arles<sup>137</sup> three women kneel before the Saviour and on another of the late fourth or fifth century at S. Celso in Milan<sup>138</sup> an angel appears in the sky. This Hellenistic type, however, is comparatively rare<sup>139</sup> and was seldom copied by later Western artists.<sup>140</sup>

132. For an ensemble of this crucifix see Sirén, *op. cit.*, fig. 97.

133. *Ibid.*, figs. 85-86; van Marle, *op. cit.* I, fig. 138. Dr. Offner dates this Florentine work about the year 1260.

134. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. no. 492, fol. 101.

135. A similar combination is found in the Perikopenbuch of St. Erentrud at Munich (Georg Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1908, pl. LVI, fig. 175) and on an ivory plaque in the Episcopal Museum at Münster I. W., where the angel is seated on the lid of a sarcophagus and the two Maries approach from the left (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XV, no. 49).

136. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, V, pl. 350/4.

137. *Ibid.*, V, pl. 316/2; Edmond Le Blant, *Étude sur les sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la ville d'Arles*, Paris, 1878, p. 46 f., pls. 29, 30.

138. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, V, pl. 315/5. The roof of the sepulcher on this example is conical in form.

139. Another example is found on a fragment of a sarcophagus at Aix (Le Blant, *op. cit.*, p. 145, no. 208). These examples on the sarcophagi must be used with a certain degree of caution, because the example at S. Celso shows some evidence of reworking, and all the examples are sufficiently peculiar to warrant further investigation.

140. The following Carolingian examples, however, may be noted: Narbonne, cathedral, ivory (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, no. 31, pl. XV); Paris, Cluny Museum, ivory (Venturi, *op. cit.*, II, fig. 162); Rome, silver box from Sancta Sanctorum (*Mon. Piot.*, XV, 1906, pl. IX); Paris, Louvre, ivory, authenticity doubtful (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, no. 146, pl. LXI).

The second Western version, the "temple type," in which the sepulcher is represented with two or more stories, was much more common during the early Middle Ages in Europe. The earliest examples of this, found on a group of fifth century ivories and assigned by E. Baldwin Smith<sup>141</sup> to a Gallic school in Provence, show a cylindrical drum placed on a square podium. The form of this two-storied structure, as Brooks<sup>142</sup> and others have already noted, was undoubtedly influenced by the funerary monuments of classical antiquity, such as the tomb of Caecilia Metella at Rome, where a square mortuary chamber is surmounted by a circular superstructure. On the Passion casket in the British Museum<sup>143</sup> the sepulcher has a square base with double doors and flat roof; above this is a low circular structure with domical roof and solid walls with windows. The doors of the mortuary chamber are open, showing that Christ has risen, but neither the Saviour nor the angel are represented, although two guards and two holy women are shown.<sup>144</sup> At times the upper story of the sepulcher consists merely of a *monopteros* with a cupola roof, as on the buckle of St. Césaire at Arles,<sup>145</sup> where the Maries are omitted and only two guards are depicted.

The composition depicted on an ivory in the National Museum at Munich<sup>146</sup> was the form of the "temple type" most widely adopted by Western artists between the eighth and eleventh centuries. In this example, which Smith also assigns to Provence,<sup>147</sup> an angel or a beardless Christ<sup>148</sup> is seated at the base of the tomb with one hand raised in a gesture of speech, and three Maries approach from the right in single file. Two guards lean on the platform of the lower story; the rotunda of the upper story is embellished with engaged columns and a conventionalized tree is shown in the background.<sup>149</sup> In later representations of this type the angel instead of Christ is shown and not infrequently the angel is seated on the slab which closed the entrance to the sepulcher, as in the Sacramentary of Drogo.<sup>150</sup> Slight variations were often introduced in the position of the angel, who is sometimes placed at the left or right and at other times in the center of the composition. Variety is also shown in the disposition of the guards. In the Drogo Sacramentary two guards are shown on the ground at the left and two others appear to be seated inside the tower in the second story, but in other examples they are placed outside the tower on the cupola

141. E. Baldwin Smith, *A Source of Mediaeval Style in France*, in *Art Studies*, 1924, II, pp. 85 ff.

142. *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

143. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 446/3; O. M. Dalton (*Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, London, 1909, no. 7, p. 6, pl. IV, c) assigns this ivory to the fifth century and Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 101, fig. 7) places it in the early school of St.-Victor at Marseilles.

144. Another early example is found on an ivory in the Trivulzio collection (Émile Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie du Ve à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1896, I, *Ivoires*, pl. VI). Bonnell (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1916, p. 702) and Smith (*op. cit.*, fig. 4, pp. 90-91) believe that two separate scenes are depicted in superimposed registers on this plaque.

145. Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 14.

146. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 459/4; Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 71; Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, p. 69, fig. 27.

147. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

148. That the seated figure without a nimbus represents Christ rather than an angel has been suggested by Smith (*loc. cit.*), who notes that in Provence the early ivory carvers did not give the nimbus to the Saviour and he points out that the nimbus now seen on the Munich ivory was a later addition.

149. In his discussion of this ivory M. Mâle (*op. cit.*, p. 84) has remarked that "sur un arbre, des oiseaux se sont posés, et leur chant annonce l'aurore. La scène a cette douceur, ce charme de jeunesse que le génie grec a su donner jusqu'au bout à ses créations." The birds in the tree, however, do not sing but are eating fruit.

150. Boinet, *op. cit.*, pl. XC, fig. A; Mâle, *op. cit.* fig. 73. Franz F. Leitschuh, *Geschichte der Karolingischen Malerei*, Berlin, 1894, p. 175.

roof.<sup>151</sup> The frequency with which the guards are portrayed on the second story was due, according to Smith, to a misunderstanding of the upper scene of the Trivulzio ivory plaque (round tower and sleeping soldiers) for the upper story of a single tomb.<sup>152</sup>

The Western formula, found on the Munich ivory, which shows three holy women, a seated angel, and a sepulcher with one or more upper stories, was widespread in Northern Europe during the ninth and tenth centuries. The tomb with a circular upper story, as in the Sacramentary of Drogo, was especially favored,<sup>153</sup> but at times the artists depicted a square upper story<sup>154</sup> and on some examples the sepulcher is a miniature church with towers.<sup>155</sup> On other monuments the sepulcher is a rectangular edifice (*ædicula*) without towers and resembles a miniature Roman temple or Early Christian basilica. Examples of the latter type are found on ivories of the Metz school,<sup>156</sup> on the early eleventh century bronze door of the cathedral at Hildesheim,<sup>157</sup> and in English and French manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold (fol. 51v.),<sup>158</sup> executed about 975-980 in the Winchester school, the composition is analogous to that in the Sacramentary of Drogo, but the sepulcher is a tall building with a saddle roof, and in the Prüm Troper (Fig. 31),<sup>159</sup> of about the year 1000, the square tomb is covered with a barrel vault. The tower type, however, with two or more stories, was by far the most common form, and isolated examples of its use are found in Auvergne as late as the twelfth century, as shown by a Romanesque capital in the church of St.-Nectaire, Puy-de-Dôme (Fig. 32),<sup>160</sup> where a soldier leans on a double-storied sepulcher in the same manner as on the early Munich ivory.

151. Cf. St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 390/1, Hartker's antiphonary (Adolf Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen, vom neunten bis zum elften Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1912, pl. LXIX, no. 2); London, Victoria and Albert Museum, ivory (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. LIV, no. 126); Sacramentary of Henry II (Georg Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1901, pl. IX, no. 21). One of the earliest examples which shows the guards in this position is found in a Prudentius manuscript in the Vatican Library (Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 15). The unintelligent manner in which this motif was sometimes rendered by later artists can be illustrated by a copy of the Gospels in the library of St. Peter at Salzburg, where the guards are placed in the sky with no visible means of support (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. XVIII, no. 58).

152. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91. According to Bonnell (*op. cit.*, pp. 20-21) the belief during the Middle Ages that Christ was buried in a tower-like tomb was suggested by an early Gallic liturgy: "*Corpus vero Domini ideo defertur in Turribus, quia monumentum Domini in similitudinem Turris fuit scissum in petra.*" (Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, Paris, 1887, V, p. 62).

153. Florence, National Museum, ivory, (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, I, pl. V, no. 9); Schloss Hrádek in Bohemia, Count Harrach coll., ivory, two holy women (*ibid.*, I, pl. X, no. 18); London, Victoria and Albert Museum, ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. LIV, no. 126); London, Victoria and Albert Museum, ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. LVII, no. 132a); Nancy, cathedral, ivory, two holy women (*ibid.*, I, pl. LIX, no. 137); Liverpool, Free Public Museum, ivory, (*ibid.*, I, pl. LIX, no. 139); Quedlinburg, treasury of Stiftskirche, ivory

(*ibid.*, I, pl. LXII, no. 147d); Paris, Martin Le Roy coll. ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. LXIII, no. 148).

154. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. XX, no. 41); Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. XXIII, no. 55).

155. Dole (Jura), museum, ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. XV, no. 30); Paris, Bibl. Nat., ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. XXXVI, no. 86); Gannat (Allier), church, ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. XXXVIII, no. 89). On an eleventh century ivory of the Belgian-Rhenish school in the National Museum at Florence, which shows strong Byzantine influence, the sepulcher is depicted as a Romanesque church with three tall towers (*ibid.*, II, pl. XLVI, no. 162).

156. Paris, Bibl. Nat., ivory (*ibid.*, I, pl. XXXV, no. 84); Darmstadt, Grossherzog von Hessen coll., ivory (*ibid.*, IV, pl. LXXIX, no. 309).

157. Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die deutschen Bronzetüren des frühen Mittelalters*, Marburg a. L., 1926, p. 19, pls. 57-58.

158. Eric G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth century*, Paris, 1926, pl. 4. A similar edifice is also shown in the late tenth century Benedictional of Archbishop Robert (fol. 21v.), now in the Public Library at Rouen (MS. Y. 7, fol. 21v.) (*ibid.* pl. 8).

159. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 9448, fol. 39.

160. Cf. Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 1190. Other Romanesque examples are found on capitals in the church of Mozat (Puy-de-Dôme) (*ibid.*, pls. 1225-1227; Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 107) and in the church at Brioude (Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 127).





FIG. 35—Gotha, Library: Detail of Page from Echternacher Codex



FIG. 36—Escorial Library: Page from Codex Aureus



FIG. 37—Würzburg, University Library: Page from  
Manuscript



FIG. 38—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Page from  
Limoges Gospels

During the later Middle Ages a third Western version, the "coffer tomb" type, in which the sepulcher is represented as a rectangular coffer without any edifice above it, was portrayed by Northern artists. The origin of this form is still a matter of debate. M. Millet<sup>161</sup> has suggested that Western artists misunderstood Eastern models and substituted an empty coffer for the square block of stone on which the angel sits in Byzantine examples. M. Mâle,<sup>162</sup> on the other hand, quoting from the *Book of Customs* written by St. Dunstan in 967 for the use of the English monasteries, and from other texts assembled by Bonnell,<sup>163</sup> believes that the form was an outgrowth of the liturgical drama, especially the drama of the Resurrection. Brooks,<sup>164</sup> however, believes that the later Western art form was an outgrowth of earlier Occidental and Eastern types. He calls attention to representations of the temple type, where the lowest story is considered as the mortuary chamber containing the sarcophagus, of which a glimpse can sometimes be obtained through the open doors. He also cites as transitional types the scene in the Uta Codex,<sup>165</sup> where an open sarcophagus is covered by a ciborium resembling the Palestinian *tugurium*, and that in the late eleventh century Codex of Master Bertolt,<sup>166</sup> where a sarcophagus is placed within an edifice resembling the temple type and soldiers sleep on the roof. Brooks also mentions the close similarity between the later Western version and the mediaeval Byzantine type, as illustrated by the ivory diptych at Milan,<sup>167</sup> but qualifies his conclusions by the statement that "it is difficult to say in how far the Occidental type is the result of Byzantine influence, or how far it is a purely Western development, a gradual simplification of representation. It is possible that the religious drama was not without influence upon it."<sup>168</sup> What seems wrong in all these statements, except that of M. Millet, is the omission of any discussion of the strong East Christian influence on Ottonian iconography, which is almost a commonplace in mediaeval archaeology.

Whatever critics may finally agree as to the origin of the "coffer tomb type" the monuments themselves show that by the end of the tenth century the open sarcophagus, without any architectural structure above it, was employed by Northern artists of both the East and West Frankish schools. On an ivory situla in the Morgan collection, which was probably executed about the year 1000 in the Rhine region near Cologne,<sup>169</sup> a small sarcophagus is placed in the foreground on the right, and an angel, seated directly behind it, holds a book in the left hand and extends the right toward the three Maries, who approach from the opposite side in single file. The lid is attached to the side of the tomb and is raised to show that the tomb is empty, a feature also found about the year 1000 in the West Frankish school, as shown by the Boulogne Psalter from St. Bertin (Fig. 33).<sup>170</sup> This arrangement of the cover, however, appears to be an early form, inasmuch as in later representations it usually lies transversely across the top of the open sarcophagus and the angel is frequently seated upon it.

161. Millet, *op. cit.*, pp. 520 ff.

162. *Op. cit.*, pp. 127 ff.

163. John K. Bonnell, *The Easter Sepulchrum in its Relation to the Architecture of the High Altar*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XXXI, no. 4, 1916, pp. 664 ff.

164. *Op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.

165. Swarzenski, *Regensburger Malerei*, pl. XVIII, no. 45; Brooks, *op. cit.*, fig. 10.

166. Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI, no. 86; Brooks, *op. cit.*, fig. 11.

167. Brooks, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

169. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, p. 33 pl. XXIII, no. 71.

170. Glossed Psalter, from the abbey of St.-Bertin, Boulogne-sur-mer, Public Library, no. 20, fol. 2 (*Exposition du Livre*, Paris, 1923 no. 11).



All the essential features of this "coffer tomb type," which shows an open sarcophagus, an angel with right hand extended, and three holy women, are found in Ottonian manuscripts of the eleventh century. In the Codex Aureus of the Escorial Library (fol. 84) (Fig. 36) the sarcophagus is slightly wider at the head than at the foot and is identical in form with the tombs in use at this period in Germany. The linen shroud lies within and the angel, seated on the right, holds a cross in the left hand and extends the right toward the three holy women. Above is written: RESPONDENS ANG(E)L(V)S DIXIT MVLIERIBVS QVEM QVERITIS IN SEPVLCRO NON EST HIC. SVRREXIT. The figure and drapery style of the angel shows slight Byzantine influence, and the introduction of an upright building on the extreme right is also Eastern. In other Ottonian versions of the eleventh century, such as the Echternacher Codex at Gotha (Fig. 35), and a Gospel of the school of Echternach at Brussels<sup>171</sup> the Eastern sepulcher disappears and only the sarcophagus is represented. Occasionally during the twelfth century the artist introduces an arch or a blind arcade into the background, as on the twelfth century ivory plaque of the Cologne school in the Blumenthal collection,<sup>172</sup> but more frequently the scene is entirely devoid of any architectural feature.

During the Romanesque and Gothic periods Northern artists always depicted a sarcophagus of the coffer type, but there appears to have been no fixed rule as to the position and gesture of the angel. In some instances the angel is seated behind the tomb, as on the early ivory situla in the Metropolitan Museum and in the twelfth century Limoges Gospels in the Morgan Library (Fig. 38),<sup>173</sup> and in other examples the angel is seated on the edge of the tomb in the foreground, as in a thirteenth century manuscript at Würzburg (Fig. 37).<sup>174</sup> More frequently during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the angel sits, as in the Codex Aureus (Fig. 36), on the sarcophagus lid, which is placed transversely across the tomb, an arrangement found in a Homiliary<sup>175</sup> and in a Gospel Book in the Royal Library at Brussels (Fig. 39),<sup>176</sup> and in a Franco-Flemish Psalter in the Gothic period in the Morgan Library (Fig. 40)<sup>177</sup> the angel is seated in this position and points with the left hand. In the two preceding examples the three Maries approach from the right and the angel's right hand crosses the body as in the Byzantine formula. At times a fourth figure is introduced into the composition, as in the Limoges Sacramentary at Paris,<sup>178</sup> where an angel swoops down from above and censes the open sepulcher and linen shroud.

There also appears to have been no set formula for the representation of the guards. In early examples they are sometimes portrayed in violent attitudes, as in the Boulogne Psalter (Fig. 33), where one of the soldiers appears to fall backward, another throws his arms outward, and a third falls to the ground on his face. This animated movement is

171. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. no. 9428, fol. 92v. (van den Gheyn, *op. cit.*, I, p. 288).

172. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, III, pl. II, no. 3.

173. Morgan MS. no. 44, fol. 11. On an ivory plaque in the Hermitage the angel is seated behind a miniature tomb on a stool (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, III, pl. IX, no. 36).

174. Würzburg, University Library, MS. lat. theol. 4050.

175. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. II. 1420, vol. III, fol. 1v. (van den Gheyn, *op. cit.*, III, no. 1869, pp. 168-169).

176. Brussels, Bibl. Roy. lat. 10527, fol. 53v. (*ibid.*, I, no. 62, p. 28). Cf. also Breslau, Schlesisches Museum, ivory (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XIV, no. 51); Treves, Cathedral treasury, book-cover (*ibid.*, III, pl. XVII, no. 55); Brunswick, museum, walrus book-cover, c. 1200 (*ibid.*, III, pl. XIX, no. 57); Salzburg, library of St. Peter, antiphonary (*Salzburger Malerei*, pl. C, fig. 339).

177. Ms. no. 440, fol. 13v. Cf. with Morgan MS. no. 183.

178. Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 9438, fol. 76v. For a discussion of this manuscript see Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1924, I, pp. 213-215, pl. XXXV.





FIG. 41—Berlin, Municipal Library: Page from Trier Manuscript



FIG. 42—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail of Page from Bible of Farfa









FIG. 39—Brussels, Bibl. Roy.: Page from Gospels

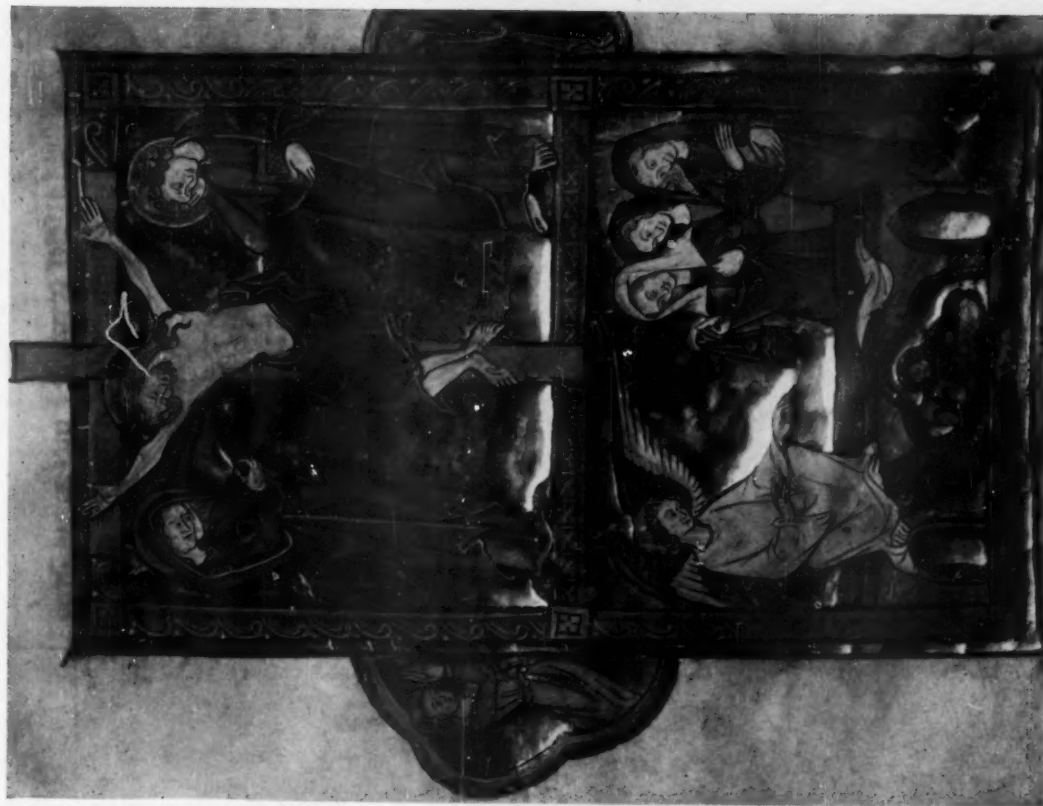


FIG. 40—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Page from  
Franco-Flemish Psalter





obviously an allusion to the text of Matthew (XXVIII, 2, 4): "And, behold, there was a great earthquake . . . And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men." This conception, however, did not originate in Northern Europe since it is found as early as the sixth century in the Rabula Gospels.<sup>179</sup> More frequently during the Romanesque and Gothic periods the guards are placed in the foreground, directly in front of the sarcophagus, and are asleep. The minor importance attached to them is shown by the fact that they are usually diminutive in size, and sometimes the artist portrays only a single guard, as in the Morgan Psalter (Fig. 40), or he omits them entirely (Fig. 39). Occasional examples might be cited in which the sleeping soldiers are placed above an arch or on the top of a ciborium, as in the earlier temple-tomb type, but these instances are comparatively rare during the later mediaeval period.<sup>180</sup>

Although the free-standing sarcophagus without any architectural feature above it was by far the most common it is interesting to note that Ottonian artists sometimes portrayed the mixed type current in Northern and Southern Italy, which shows the sarcophagus and ciborium. Thus, in the Uta Codex<sup>181</sup> an open sarcophagus is placed underneath a ciborium, as in the frescoes at S. Angelo in Formis, but the arrangement of the figures in this German manuscript, with two Maries on the left and a seated angel on the right, is almost identical with the East Christian formula found on the Sancta Sanctorum panel. The strong influence exerted by this early East Christian type can be shown again by a St. Gall manuscript<sup>182</sup> of the first half of the eleventh century, where the ciborium is not unlike the *tempietto* in the Rabula Gospels and the position of the two Maries and the seated angel is similar to that in the Uta Codex. The only evidence of Western influence in this St. Gall manuscript is the open sarcophagus, which stands directly before the ciborium. At times the Northern artist even omitted the sarcophagus, as in a Trier manuscript at Berlin (Fig. 41),<sup>183</sup> where the angel is seated outside the ciborium on the sarcophagus lid and addresses the two Maries in the Byzantine manner. Two holy women are sometimes found in other Northern examples,<sup>184</sup> but more frequently three are represented, as in another St. Gall codex (Cod. 341),<sup>185</sup> where the composition is almost identical with codex 340 at St. Gall.<sup>186</sup> In both these St. Gall manuscripts the face of the angel is painted red, as in the twelfth century Homiliary at Brussels, an evident allusion to the text of Matthew (XXVIII, 3): "His countenance was like lightning . . ."

179. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 139/1.

180. E. g., Salzburg, monastery of St. Peter, Codex of Master Bertolt (Swarzenski, *Regensburger Malerei*, pl. XXXI, no. 86); Munich, Staatsbibliothek, ivory (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XLIII, no. 152); London, Victoria and Albert Museum, reliquary, ivory (*ibid.*, III, fig. 13); Welfenschatz, Duke of Cumberland coll., reliquary, ivory (*ibid.*, III, pl. XII, no. 47, d); Cologne, St. Maria im Kapitol, wooden door (Richard Hamann, *Die Holztür zu St. Maria im Kapitol*, Marburg a. L., 1926, pls. XXXIX, XL).

181. Swarzenski, *Regensburger Malerei*, pl. XVIII, no. 45, pp. 101-102.

182. St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 340 (Adolf Merton, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXVIII, no. 1, p. 78).

183. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, no. 34, fol. 170.

184. Cf. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, ivory (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XVII, no. 53); Metz, Priesterseminar, ivory (*ibid.*, II, pl. XVII, no. 54); Cologne, St. Maria im Kapitol, wooden door (Hamann, *loc. cit.*); Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Perikopenbuch, fol. 29v. (Swarzenski, *Regensburger Malerei*, pl. XXVI, no. 70).

185. Merton, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXVIII, no. 2.

186. Additional Northern examples which show the sarcophagus and ciborium with three Maries are: Agram, treasury, ivory (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XXI, no. 62); London, British Museum, ivory (*ibid.*, II, pl. XXI, no. 64); Utrecht, Episcopal museum, ivory (*ibid.*, II, pl. XLII, no. 151); Cologne, Kunstgewerbe Museum, walrus plaque (*ibid.*, III, pl. III, no. 6); Castelveil (Gironde), capital on southern porch (Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 928); Chalais (Charente), lunette on western façade (*ibid.*, pl. 1089); Poitiers, cathedral, stained glass (Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 109).

After this brief survey of the chief Oriental and Western types of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher we can now turn to the mediaeval versions in Spain. It appears that nearly all the variants existing in the East, in Italy, and in Northern Europe, were current in the Peninsula, but prior to the Romanesque period Spanish artists misunderstood their models and curious combinations frequently resulted. Thus, in the Gerona Beatus of 975,<sup>187</sup> two Maries are shown at the sepulcher but they speak to Joseph of Arimathaea, and the presence of the dead body of Christ shows that this scene must be construed as the Entombment, although the scene is obviously constructed on the formula of the Visit of the Maries to the tomb. In the antiphonary of Leon Cathedral (Fig. 34), dated 1066,<sup>188</sup> the artist attempted to reproduce an Eastern version, since two Maries are represented, but the curiously shaped tomb, arranged in the form of steps, can hardly be classified as a rock-hewn sepulcher.<sup>189</sup>

The ease with which Spanish artists could confuse Eastern and Western types is demonstrated by the Bible of Farfa, where the Holy Women at the Sepulcher and the Resurrection are combined in one scene. In this Catalan manuscript (Fig. 42)<sup>190</sup> the funerary monument consists of a large lower story surmounted by a wide platform, and on this rests a small circular tower with a conical roof. In general appearance this two-storied structure with the bust of four guards on the platform resembles the Western "temple-tomb type." That the artist may have planned his composition from two separate models is suggested by the presence of two angels, one of whom is seated on a stone slab outside the building, on the right, and another at the doorway, on the left. Two angels are rarely represented prior to the Romanesque period, but it is quite conceivable that the artist may have copied the second angel from a Western model, such as the Munich ivory, where the angel is placed beside the doorway, and the first from a Byzantine model which shows the angel seated on a slab outside the tomb. The introduction of four holy women is also unusual, but may well have been copied directly from a Byzantine manuscript, such as Gr. MS. 74 at Paris. Further evidence of a possible combination of different models is furnished by the Resurrection, shown in the second story of the sepulcher. This scene, as already noted, rarely appears prior to the twelfth century, and the combination of the two scenes in the same composition is strong evidence that the artist did not understand his original models.

That Spanish artists were familiar with Italian variants of Byzantine models can be illustrated by a manuscript in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin (Fig. 43).<sup>191</sup> Here, as in the Gospels of Isidore at Padua and in many other Italian versions, the right arm of the angel is extended in the Western manner directly toward the holy women and does not cross the body in the Byzantine fashion, but the presence of only two Maries and the tall ciborium

187. Gerona, cathedral library, fol. 17. (Neuss, *op. cit.*, fig. 172).

188. Leon, cathedral, no. 8, fol. 187. (Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental de España, Provincia de Leon*, Madrid, 1925, p. 156). According to Gómez-Moreno the manuscript was executed in the year 1066, but Villada reads the date (fol. 26) as 1069 and written by Arias (Zacarias García Villada, *Catálogo de los códices y documentos de la catedral de León*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 38-40).

The original from which this antiphonary was copied dates from the reign of king Wamba (*loc. cit.*).

189. The text directly below the illumination reads: *Angelus dei descendit de celo, revolvit lapidem abstinu monumenti domini, alleluia, alleluia. Mulieres lacrimantes salvatorem querebant mariae, angelus dixit non est hic, surrexit enim dominus, alleluia, alleluia.*

190. Vatican Library, Cod. Vat. lat. 5729, fol. 370 (Neuss, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-126).

191. Quartal, no. 700, fol. 4.



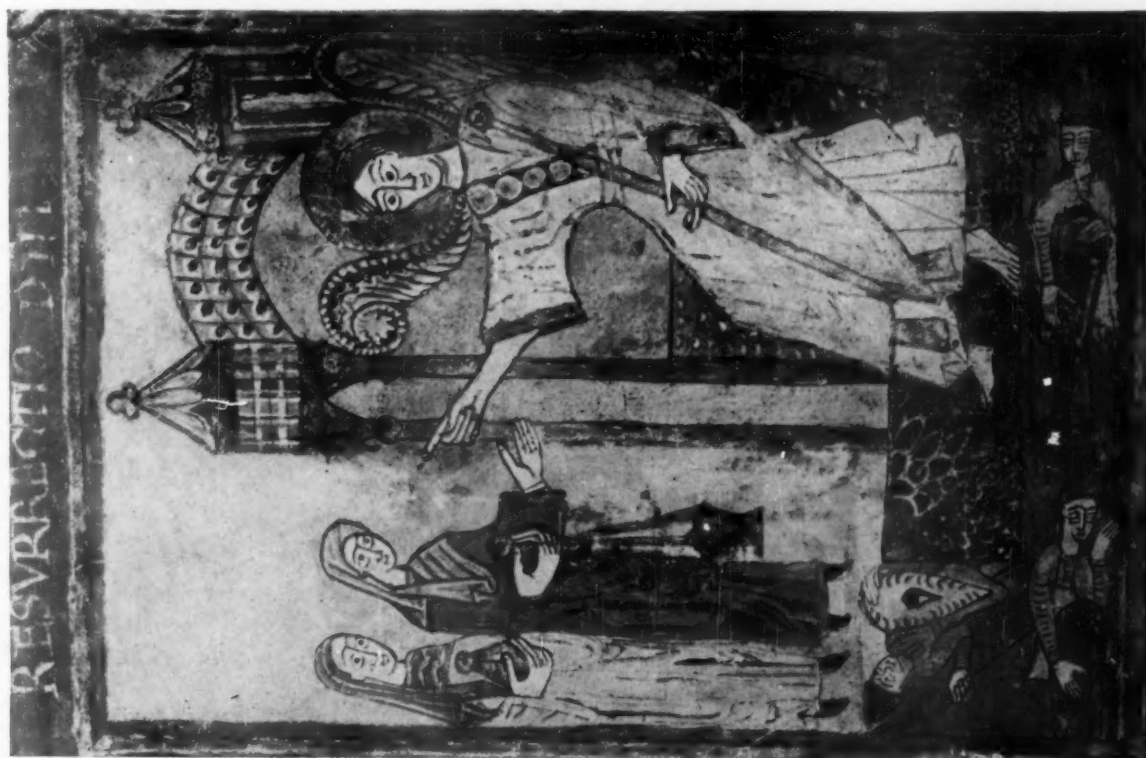


FIG. 43—Berlin, Municipal Library: Page from Gospels

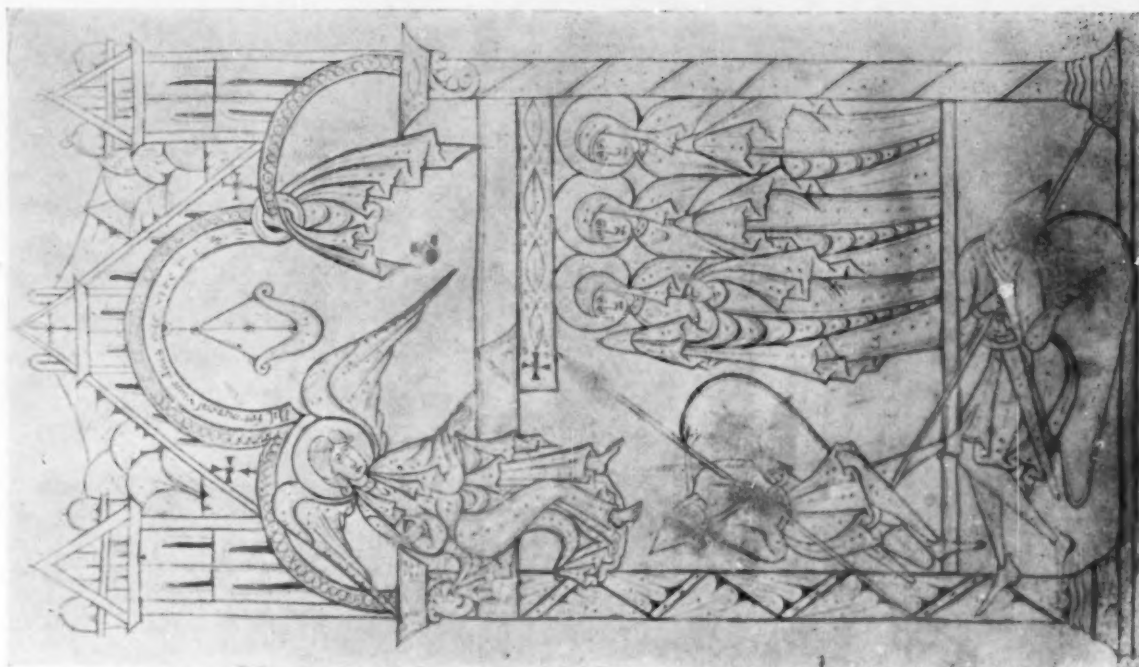


FIG. 44—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page from Homiliae Patrum



FIG. 45—*Tarragona, Cathedral: Capital in Cloister*



FIG. 46—*Oviedo, Cathedral: Capital in Camera Santa*



FIG. 47—*Huesca, S. Pedro el Viejo: Capital in Cloister*

supported by four columns show clearly that the artist was working from an Italo-Byzantine model. It is interesting to note that this codex, which was formerly in a Rhenish monastery, has usually been considered as German, but the intense color scheme, the lack of coördination in the composition, the spiral wing of the angel, and other details of the drapery and figure style are characteristic of the Spanish manuscript style.

During the Romanesque and Gothic periods the artists of Spain followed the Western coffer-tomb type of Northern Europe, and countless examples might be cited which show the angel seated on the edge of the tomb or on the sarcophagus lid.

Even this type, however, was occasionally misunderstood by Spanish artists. On a pilaster relief in the cloister of S. Domingo de Silos (Fig. 20) the sarcophagus lid rises at a sharp angle and the angel is perched at the extreme upper end; the three Maries approach from the right and there is no ground line beneath their feet. The unusual height at which the angel is placed seems due, at first sight, to the representation in the same composition of the Entombment, which is shown directly below. This explanation, however, cannot be given for the position of the angel in a Homilies of Church Fathers at Paris (Fig. 44), a Mozarabic manuscript that formerly belonged to the library of S. Domingo de Silos.<sup>192</sup> In this example the angel is again shown in the upper left corner, but the sarcophagus lid lies in a horizontal position directly above the heads of the three Maries and the linen shroud hangs from the trefoil arch. Although a possible connection may exist between the scene in this Silos manuscript and the sculptured relief in the cloister, the former appears to have been arranged without any idea of logic. It is more likely that this mannerism of placing the angel at an unusual height is a local Spanish tradition, since the angel is again perched at the upper end of the sarcophagus lid in an Escorial manuscript, executed during the second half of the thirteenth century for Alfonso X.<sup>193</sup>

There are, however, certain variants of the Western "coffer tomb type" in Spain which can only be explained by the religious drama. These follow English and French models and are closely connected, as Mâle has shown, with the liturgical ceremonies that took place in the church on Easter morning. In our study of the Entombment we have noted that the burial of Christ was symbolized by the *Depositio Crucis* on Good Friday. On Easter morning the cross or host was raised again from the *sepulchrum* and this second ceremony (*Elevatio*), representing the Resurrection, was followed by the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, which symbolized the visit of the three holy women at the sepulcher. According to Young<sup>194</sup> the *Depositio* and *Elevatio* arose during the tenth century under the influence of the Adoration of the Cross (*Adoratio Crucis*) of Good Friday, and an important element in the *Elevatio* was the use of dialogue. The earliest form of dialogue is found in the *Quem quaeritis* trope of the introit of Easter mass and it originated in the desire to make the

192. Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 2176, fol. 226. The text and initials were executed during the late eleventh century in the Mozarabic style. Some of the miniatures were left unfinished and this scene was added to the manuscript by a later Romanesque artist who worked in the linear style of Northern France or England.

193. This mannerism may have originated through a misunderstanding of some North European model, such

as the Perikopenbuch from Passau, now in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich (Cm. 16002), where the sarcophagus lid is placed at a steep angle (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. LXXXIX, fig. 302).

194. Karl Young, *The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre*, in *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, Madison, 1920, no. 10. See also Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.



narrative of the Resurrection as vivid as possible. In the oldest St. Gall version the trope consisted of a short dialogue between two choirs:

*Question:* Whom seek ye in the sepulcher, O Christians?

*Answer:* Jesus of Nazareth crucified, O heavenly ones.

*Reply:* He is not here. He is risen, as He prophesied; go and announce that He is risen from the grave.

This was followed by the introit:

"I arose and am still with thee, alleluia."<sup>195</sup>

The *Visitatio*, which originated during the late ninth century, went even further, since it was dramatic in form and rendered even more vividly to the congregation the narrative account of the Resurrection. This extra-liturgical ceremony was usually performed after matins. When the *Gloria patri* had been sung, a monk dressed in a white robe and holding a palm branch came to the sepulcher, which had been set up near the high altar, and seated himself beside it like the angel. Three other monks, clad in dalmatics or long flaming white robes like women and swinging censers in their hands, then approached slowly, glancing about as if searching for something and chanting *Dum transisset*. When they had reached the altar they sang *Quis revolvit*. A short dialogue ensued in which the angel chanted *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro* and the three monks replied *Iesum Nazarenum*. After the words *Non est hic* the angel opened the sepulcher singing *Venite et videte*. ("Come, see the place where the Lord lay," Matthew, XXVIII, 6). Removing the cloth which covered the tomb and showing the three monks that the crucifix was no longer there, the angel then pointed toward the linen cloths lying within and chanted: *Surrexit*. The three monks, seizing the cloths and holding them up in full view of the congregation, repeated *Surrexit*, and sang the anthem: *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro* (The Lord is risen from the grave). The choir then chanted *Qui pro nobis* and the officiant began the *Te Deum*. At times the ceremony was much simplified, consisting only of a procession to the altar and the singing of anthems, and in the later centuries the mimetic action was more elaborate. On some occasions others than the clergy were allowed to take part, and in the sixteenth century the three Maries were sometimes represented by women.

It would have been strange, indeed, if such dramatic representations had not exerted a strong influence on the art form of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher. M. Mâle has already shown that certain Romanesque variants in France are intelligible only in the light of the *Visitatio*, and what is true of France and other European countries holds equally for Spain. Thus, the moment in the religious drama when the angel opens the sepulcher chanting *Venite et videte* and the three Maries approach nearer and gaze into the empty tomb was frequently represented. One of the earliest Spanish examples is found in the tympanum of the south portal of S. Isidoro at Leon,<sup>196</sup> where an angel enframed by an arch lifts the sarcophagus cover and all three Maries gaze into the sepulcher. This scene was also carved on cloister capitals, and in the cathedral at Tarragona (Fig. 45) the angel stands on the right of a small sarcophagus, raises the right hand in speech and lifts the

195. J. M. Clark, *The Abbey of St. Gall as a centre of Literature and Art*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 204.

196. *The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, fig. 63.



FIG. 48—*Estella, S. Miguel: Relief on Façade*



FIG. 49—*Pamplona, Cathedral: Romanesque Capital in Cloister*



FIG. 50—Madrid, Bibl. Nac.: Detail of Page from Bible of Avila



cover slightly at one end. The first of the holy women, who stands directly behind the sarcophagus, looks toward the angel and raises the right hand as if to speak, but she does not gaze into the tomb. Great variety in the attitude and gesture of the first Mary is shown. Thus, on a Romanesque capital in the Camara Santa at Oviedo (Fig. 46) the first Mary leans forward and looks into the empty sepulcher; on a cloister capital in the church of S. Pedro el Viejo at Huesca (Fig. 47) she turns her back and speaks to the second holy woman, and on a sculptured relief on the façade of the church of S. Miguel at Estella (Fig. 48) the first Mary speaks to one of the angels and the remaining two women converse with one another.

On many monuments one of the holy women leans forward and seizes the linen shroud in her hand. In the Boulogne Psalter (Fig. 33), the first Mary leans forward and reaches with both hands toward the shroud, a gesture which can hardly be explained by the text of John (XX, 11) which merely says that "as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulcher." However, this action can be readily explained if we recall that in the Easter ceremony, after the close of the dialogue, the holy women seized the linen cloths that enveloped the crucifix and held them up in full sight of the congregation, to show that Christ had risen. On some Spanish monuments, as a twelfth century ivory plaque of Spanish origin in the Hermitage,<sup>197</sup> one of the Maries already holds the linen shroud in her hand. The angel, seated on the edge of the sarcophagus, points with the right hand toward the empty tomb and directly above is a mutilated inscription: ANG(E)L(V)S LOQVITVR MVLIERIB(VS). In other Spanish examples the first Mary is shown in the act of reaching for the cloth. On a capital from the Romanesque church at Pamplona (Fig. 49), the angel, on the right, raises the sarcophagus lid slightly in order to show that the tomb is empty; the holy woman on the left has placed her ointment vase on top of the lid and raising the left end with one hand she reaches with the other into the tomb and touches the shroud.<sup>198</sup>

Another detail which must also be attributed to the influence of the religious drama is the representation of two angels at the holy sepulcher. Although two angels are mentioned by Luke (XXIV, 4) and John (XX, 12), a single angel was almost invariably the rule in art representation prior to the twelfth century.<sup>199</sup> The texts of the liturgical dramas, on the other hand, show that two angels frequently took part in the Easter ceremony, and the frequency with which they appear in Spanish art during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was undoubtedly due to this source. In the thirteenth century Bible of Avila (Fig. 50)<sup>200</sup> one angel is seated at the head (ANGELVS AD CAPUD) and another at the

197. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 33, no. 109. This fragment originally contained in the upper register the Crucifixion or the Descent from the Cross and is a pendant of the Spanish ivory plaque in the Metropolitan Museum (*ibid.*, no. 108, pl. XXXVII), which shows the Road to Emmaus and *Noli me tangere*. Originally they may have served as book-covers.

198. For a discussion of this capital see J. I. y S., *Capitales de la catedral románica de Pamplona*, in *Boletín de la comisión de monumentos*, I, 2, Pamplona, 1895, pp. 7-11. The gesture of the holy women on this capital is also found in French and Italian monuments, viz: Toulouse, Archaeological Museum, cloister capital from the Daurade (Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 130); Nantouillet (Seine-et-

Marne), church, enameled Limoges casket (*ibid.*, fig. 110; Ernest Rupin, *L'oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, fig. 431); Gaeta, cathedral, detail of candelabra (Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, figs. 602, 613).

199. Occasional exceptions to this statement may be noted, e. g., Petrograd, Hermitage, ivory situla from the Spitzer collection, school of Milan or Reichenau, c. 980. (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, II, pl. III, no. 3, a); London, Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 172), ivory plaque from book-cover, tenth or eleventh century (*ibid.*, II, pl. XXVIII, no. 85); Essen, church treasury, book-cover, tenth or eleventh century (*ibid.*, pl. XXIX, no. 90).

200. Madrid, Bibl. Nac., no. E. R. 8, fol. 324v.

foot (ANGELVS AD PEDES) of an open sarcophagus, above which two lamps are burning. The guards with pointed helmets and chain mail are placed at one end (CUSTODIENTES SEPULCRUM) and on the left the three Maries approach with ointment vases (HIC TRES MARIE VENIUNT VIDERE SEPULCRUM).

Two angels are also represented on the Oviedo capital (Fig. 46), where both hold back the sarcophagus lid to show that Christ has risen, and two are found on the sculptured façade of the church of S. Miguel at Estella, Navarre (Fig. 48), which is one of the finest of all Spanish renderings of this subject. On this thirteenth century relief the angel at the left raises the cover of the sarcophagus and points at the empty shroud and the second angel addresses the three holy women, each of whom carries an ointment box. The spoken words of the angel (SURREXIT, NON EST HIC) are inscribed on the edge of the sarcophagus, and the names of the three holy women are written on the edge of the relief directly beneath their feet: MARIA MAGDALENA, MARIA IACOBI, ET ALTERA MARIA. The use of two angels in Spain may have been strongly influenced by South French models, since two angels are shown on a pillar in the cloister of St.-Trophime at Arles<sup>201</sup> and on a bas-relief on the church of St. Paul at Dax (Fig. 51). The latter example is quite unusual, inasmuch as only the end of the sarcophagus is seen and the angels on either side raise the triangular cover to show that it is empty. Hands from above hold two censers and a cross; the holy women, who are represented with crowns, approach from both sides.

The desire to render as vividly as possible the circumstances attending the Resurrection of Christ led to an expansion of the *Visitatio Sepulchri* and in the course of time new scenes and additional *dramatis personæ* were added. Christ Himself, personified by a priest in a red chasuble and with the resurrection banner in His hand, appeared in company with the pilgrims of Emmaus in a scene called the *peregrini*. Mary Magdalene then appeared and fell at the Saviour's feet, repeating three times *Heu. redemptio Israel*. The *Noli me tangere* scene was then enacted.

Genre scenes, not canonical in origin, were also portrayed; one of these shows the three women buying spices, in accordance with the text of Mark (XVI, 1): "And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, had brought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint Him." The frequency with which this episodic scene is depicted on Romanesque monuments in Provence would indicate that this extra-liturgical ceremony was widespread in Southern France during the twelfth century. According to the preserved texts<sup>202</sup> the three Marys came to an apothecary's shop, and they are so portrayed on a frieze of the church of Notre-Dame-des-Pommiers at Beaucaire (Fig. 52),<sup>203</sup> where a merchant, holding a pair of scales, weighs out the spices, and the first of the three holy women places her hand on the counter as if she were paying for them. The apothecary is represented as an old man with a beard and the assistant at the left is young and beardless. This scene appears again on a bas-relief on the cloister of St.-Trophime at Arles<sup>204</sup> and on the lintel of the south portal of St.-Gilles (Gard).<sup>205</sup> In the latter example the apothecary and his assistant again stand behind a counter and the

201. Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

202. For a discussion of the texts for this scene see Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 133-134.

203. Robert de Lasteyrie, *Études sur la sculpture*

française au moyen âge, in *Monuments et mémoires, Fondation Piot*, Paris, 1902, VIII, p. 122.

204. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 55, pl. XI. The merchants are seated directly beneath the holy women.

205. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 113 ff.



FIG. 51—*Dax (Landes): Relief on Exterior of Apse*



FIG. 52—*Beaucaire, Notre-Dame-des-Pommiers: Frieze on South Façade*



FIG. 53—*Modena, Museum: Details of Romanesque Capital*





FIG. 54

Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum: Details of Romanesque Capital from S. Maria, Alabanza



FIG. 55

first Mary holds a package of incense in her hand, whereas on a capital in the Municipal Museum at Modena (Fig. 53), the holy woman places her hand on the counter in the same manner as at Beaucaire.

An interesting detail which shows a close relationship between these South French and Lombard monuments is the form of the tomb which appears in the adjacent scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher. At Beaucaire and at St.-Gilles the sarcophagus lid is closed, the linen shroud is draped over the edge and a series of decorative circles are carved on the front of the tomb. This type of sepulcher appears on another side of the Modena capital (Fig. 53),<sup>206</sup> and the earliest example of certain date is found on the sculptured pulpit at Cagliari, executed in 1162 under strong Lombard influence by Guglielmus of Pisa, and which originally stood in the cathedral of Pisa.<sup>207</sup> The exact date of the Modena capital is unknown<sup>208</sup> but it was undoubtedly executed earlier than the friezes at St.-Gilles and at Beaucaire.<sup>209</sup> The spread of the Lombard style into Provence over the Rhone valley is too well known to need further discussion here.<sup>210</sup> On the Modena capital the figures wear the melon-shaped cap, the heads are unusually large and the draperies fall in simple lines. At Beaucaire we find the same long heads, and the treatment of the apothecary's cap shows an attempt to reproduce the Lombard melon-shaped headdress. The draperies, on the other hand, are treated in a more sophisticated manner, and show the inability of the French artist to assimilate the Lombard style. The figure of the angel, seated on one end of the tomb, is obviously an adaptation of an earlier model, since the attempt to introduce isocephalism has resulted in a diminutive body that more nearly resembles a dwarf than a human being. The frieze at Beaucaire cannot be placed earlier than the second half of the twelfth century and may have been executed earlier than the lintel of St.-Gilles, which is not earlier than the late twelfth century.

This spread of the Lombard style to Spain is reflected by the relief at Armentia (Fig. 21), where the decorative circles are again found on the front of the sepulcher. Even more Lombard in style are the two capitals in the Fogg Art Museum, carved in 1185 by the artist Rodricus,<sup>211</sup> which are said to have come from the abbey of Alabanza (Palencia). In the scene of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher (Figs. 54, 55) we see again the Lombard sarcophagus with closed lid and shroud hanging over the edge, and the same huge heads and heavy drapery style.

Before closing the iconographic discussion of the Old and New Testament Catalan panel from Sagars<sup>212</sup> one or two interesting features may be noted concerning the composition of the work as a whole. At first sight the arrangement of the Passion scenes appears somewhat bewildering and one might be led to suppose that the artist has merely chosen at random a few episodes from the life of Christ with no other idea than that of filling out the composition. Thus, the Entry into Jerusalem, which is the opening scene

206. For a discussion of the texts of this scene, where the Magdalene faints on the sarcophagus lid, see Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137.

207. Venturi, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 821.

208. According to Venturi, (*op. cit.*, III, p. 264) this capital may have come from the small church of S. Vitale delle Carpinete, which was possibly built by Countess Matilda.

209. I am not unaware that some critics have con-

sidered the Modena capital later than the Provençal monuments (Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 273; Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 136), but this theory is unsupported by documents, whereas the general evolution of the Lombard style shows that the reverse is more probable.

210. See *The Art Bulletin*, X, 2, p. 167, n. 41.

211. According to the inscription carved on the abaci of these two capitals.

212. *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, fig. 29.

of the Passion cycle, is placed in the lower rather than in the upper register and immediately adjacent appears the Holy Women at the Sepulcher, which is one of the latest scenes from the cycle. Moreover, the Crucifixion, which is most important of all the Passion scenes, is entirely omitted and the Betrayal and Descent from the Cross are portrayed in juxtaposition in the same compartment. A more normal arrangement would show in sequence the Betrayal, Crucifixion, and Descent from the Cross.

This apparent confusion and the omission of the Crucifixion can, however, be explained. Our Catalan artist certainly followed some well-known model and a possible clue as to what this original was is indicated by the group of painted crucifixes that were especially common in Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. On these works a group of six or eight scenes from the Passion of Christ are usually portrayed in small rectangular compartments, and if we take a single example, such as the painted crucifix which still hangs in the church of Rossano, near Pontassieve,<sup>213</sup> we note that the Betrayal appears in the upper left compartment under the Saviour's arm and that the Descent from the Cross is shown in a corresponding position on the right. The crucified body of Christ is placed between these two scenes and it was accordingly not necessary to represent the Crucifixion as a separate scene. Now, if we assume that our artist copied his individual scenes from such a model as this it is quite conceivable how he might have overlooked or ignored the significance of the large figure of the crucified Christ. Such an assumption would explain the omission of the Crucifixion on our Catalan panel and would account for the juxtaposition of the Betrayal and Descent from the Cross.

The use of a painted crucifix as a model might also explain the singular disposition of some of the other scenes on our panel. Thus, an arrangement on a crucifix of scenes which follow each other chronologically, upward on the left side and downward on the right, would necessarily bring the Entry, as the first of the cycle, in the lower left compartment and the Entombment and Holy Women at the Sepulcher below on the right. On the right side of the crucifix the Descent from the Cross would be placed at the top, and the Holy Women at the Sepulcher would appear directly below the Entombment, as in the Rossano example. If our Catalan artist followed such a model as this it would not only explain why, on our panel, the Entombment appears directly above the Holy Women at the Sepulcher, but would also account for the juxtaposition in the same register of the latter scene and the Entry into Jerusalem.<sup>214</sup>

Another feature which at first sight may also appear somewhat unusual is the inclusion of an Old Testament scene, such as the Fall of Man, in a composition otherwise exclusively devoted to Gospel scenes.<sup>215</sup> In explanation it has been suggested that this is because the panel is the work of a provincial artist, who either copied his motives at random from the pages of a Spanish Bible or who planned his composition from two separate models. The mediaeval artist, however, rarely if ever chose his subjects at random, and with occasional exceptions, such as are found in the Anglo-Saxon school, he seldom attempted to introduce innovation at will. The representation in the same composition of Old and New

213. Sirén, *op. cit.*, fig. 54.

214. Although no painted crucifixes with scenes as on the Rossano crucifix have thus far come to light in Catalonia, there are on the other hand, several large wooden crosses in which the figure of the Saviour is painted and

which were surely copied from Italian models. The possibility of direct influence from Northern Italy on this panel has already been suggested by the figure style.

215. *The Art Bulletin*, *loc. cit.*



Testament scenes was a common mediaeval practice and appears in the early period of Christian art. According to the Venerable Bede the pictures which Benedict Bishop brought back from Rome were so arranged that a scene from the Old Testament was explained by a scene from the New and during the thirteenth century this symbolic exegesis is found constantly on the façades of cathedrals and on stained glass at Bourges, Chartres, Le Mans, and elsewhere. "The Old Testament," according to St. Augustine, "is nothing but the New covered with a veil, and the New is nothing but the Old unveiled."<sup>216</sup> It is obvious that our Catalan artist, by his choice of Old and New Testament scenes, has merely sought to express allegorically one of the central conceptions of Christianity—the Fall and Redemption of Mankind.<sup>217</sup>

<sup>216</sup>. Cf. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, Paris, 1910, Book IV.

<sup>217</sup>. The chief function of Romanesque painting was to represent in terms of line and color a theological concept or a religious symbol; a tendency which is even more apparent in the Gothic period and which was stimulated, as Mâle has shown, by the influence of the scholastic writers and theologians. The Romanesque artist usually followed his iconographic models faithfully, since his

sole aim was to tell a story which would clearly convey its religious meaning and he made no attempt to deviate from the formulae established by his predecessors. The modern slogan "art for art's sake" did not exist during the twelfth century and the suggestion that our Catalan painter combined Old and New Testament scenes at random, merely to cover all the available space in his panel and to make a pleasing composition is quite untenable.

## A RELIEF BY MESTROVICH

BY ALFRED M. BROOKS

THE wood-carving by Mestrovich of Christ Driving the Money-Changers from the Temple is a work of art tremendously significant in its expression of force. It bears evidence, not to be gainsaid, of the essential meaning of its subject. That meaning is power. It is not beautiful in any sense ordinarily connoted by the word *beauty*. It is powerful in every sense which the word *power*, the idea behind power, connotes. Those who understand Michelangelo's Christ of the Last Judgment, however repellent to them, will understand this Christ. Others will not. It is not natural in that the figure of Christ amounts to little more than an abstraction, almost a symbol; but it is realistic in the extreme as the conveyancer of irresistible and angered strength couched in the form of a barely recognizable human being. That Michelangelo's Christ is the opposite in being concretely anatomical has little if anything to do with the question of understanding or misunderstanding. A symbolic figure in one case, a deceptively real one in the other, victorious over the seemingly irresistible strength of overpowering greed, they mean one and the same thing when it comes to the essential. The might of just wrath in opposition to the might of greed, gone mad, Mestrovich has refined to the basic, and transmuted into the wood upon which he has plowed clean lines and hewn flat, sharp surfaces, their sinister shadows being produced by angular, knife-like edges. So is the wood made to carry our thoughts into retrospect, and raise our understanding above ordinary. The pattern of lines and surfaces as the artist has arranged them are insistently subversive of one another, and abstract to a high degree. Look at the hands, the features, as lines and surfaces forever colliding, not by chance but by intention, with other lines and surfaces. All is conflict. The words "he glorieth in the goad" describe this embodiment of passionately angry outburst, merciless to lay on, which is Christ. The money changers flee. But they are yet utterly consumed with faith in the money that alone can save their present hides and, anon, put them even with their scourger whose house of prayer they have made a den of thieves. This is the whole point. The living heart, the essence of meaning has, as it were, been plucked out by Mestrovich and planted anew in a body of his own creating, a very powerful body fashioned to make us almost cease to breathe as it reveals to us hitherto undreamt-of intensities of anger and rage, of spiritual sorrow and bodily suffering.

An interesting and curious parallel in wood sculpture, though on a lower level of artistry, is presented by the fifteenth century Deposition above a side-altar in the Cathedral of Volterra. Here also the pattern is made up of lines and surfaces in forceful contradiction of one another. It, too, is a work of high tensions, forever at variance. No beauty here, as ordinarily understood, but power to a very high degree; power born of the complete powerlessness of dead flesh, the symbol of death, a transmutation, a work of art in which that which has transcendent purport has been caught up into style. This Deposition, and the Expulsion by Mestrovich, stand together. They are parallels, in that each is at the farthest remove imaginable from embodying the classic spirit which gives expression to



FIG. 1—*Exhibition at Brooklyn Museum, 1924: Wood Carving of Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple, by Mestrovich*





FIG. 2—Volterra, Cathedral: *The Deposition*

every longing for a nearer approach to, and a closer contact with, the naked loveliness of the world of matter, Michelangelo's different way of attaining the same end. Indeed Michelangelo expressly affirms in a letter his belief in things which have the same end being the same thing. Both the Deposition and this Expulsion fill the beholder's mind and heart with an overwhelming awe of pain and suffering which outstrips reality as the sun a rush-light. And this awe, in both cases, is the soul of its subject. The art of each consists in the carver's ability to feel this overwhelming awe of pain and suffering vicariously, and to body it forth in a symbol humanized only so far as actually need be, which is but a very little way indeed, by no means so far as Michelangelo went. And for this very reason are they superior to Michelangelo, who went further than need be.

## THE AUTHENTICITY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN SILVER

BY JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

**T**HE ART BULLETIN for December, 1926, contained an article by the famous Roman archæologist Joseph Wilpert, in which after making valuable contributions bearing on the authenticity of the Early Christian sarcophagi of Rome and related sculpture he turned to the consideration of small objects from the East. Despite his recognized, if somewhat over ecclesiastical, authority in matters Roman, Wilpert has long seemed ill disposed toward non-Roman material, and in this case his conclusions appear less cautious and reserved than the scholarly character of *The Art Bulletin* would seem to demand. In my *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung* I emphasized the difficulties presented by the study of the treasures discovered in the East, into which, with purely Roman equipment, Wilpert has plunged so hastily. As I had occasion in 1910 to respond to his criticism of my publication of the Golenisheff Chronicle<sup>1</sup> so I now feel the necessity of questioning this article, and some of what I then wrote could practically be repeated verbatim to-day. It is still a question of the Orient or Rome, still a matter of his arguing in a way that seems to me unworthy of his scholarship.

The part of Wilpert's article which I shall mainly deal with concerns the "great chalice of Antioch" and the book about it by Dr. Gustavus A. Eisen, for which I wrote a foreword. My long subsequent critique of Eisen's book in the *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*<sup>2</sup> Wilpert ignores and seems to think I am in perfect agreement with Eisen in everything, particularly in his early dating of circa 50 to 70 A. D. My reference to Eisen as a classical archæologist, which Wilpert stresses, is I believe fully vindicated by Eisen's more recent book, *Glass, its Origin, History, Chronology, Technic, and Classification to the Sixteenth Century*.

Now as regards the dating of the chalice, I have already decisively stated my objection to one of Eisen's points that taken by itself makes a bad impression, namely, the use of the fifty-seven rosettes on the upper rim for the determination of the date. Eisen (counting from the twelfth year of Christ's life) thus arrives at the date circa 64 A. D., a reasoning to which I have taken exception—for why seize on such external and presumably accidental things to fix the date of origin? I think it better not to use such more than doubtful evidence and to stick to more customary argument, but it is unnecessary to repeat what I have said elsewhere about the date of the chalice, since Wilpert is not so much concerned with the date as with the idea that the chalice is a forgery.

His first reason for regarding the chalice with suspicion is the uncertainty and contradiction in the reports of its discovery, already emphasized by Jerphanion in his book *Le calice d'Antioche*. It is illuminating however to compare the history of the discovery

1. *Römische Quartalschrift*, XXIV, pp. 172 ff.

2. I, 1924, pp. 53 f.



of the treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklos in 1799 and other treasures found since. In those days too there were peasants and dealers, the former dividing the treasure between them and trying to keep its source secret, the latter collecting it and trying to penetrate the secret—with the inevitable harvest of contradictory reports. What is always needed is not so much of equivocal discussion and considerably more of organized exploration, putting into the field people of scholarly equipment and capable of giving qualified judgment. For even Wilpert, who strenuously objects to my praise of the chalice, admits that it "would be inestimable were its authenticity above question." Here we have as we formerly had in the case of Mshatta façade a definite incentive to investigation in the East. If we are going to take these things seriously and not merely as subjects for conversation we must undertake studies on the spot as Butler did in the case of the Syrian churches introduced to the scholarly world by de Vogüé.

In giving other grounds for doubting the authenticity of the chalice Wilpert cites such a confusing array of opinions that he seems almost to make the chalice responsible for all that has been said about it. I shall try to focus my discussion on the chalice itself. He objects to the proportions of the vessel: since it does not exactly correspond to the form otherwise indicated for chalices of that period, and especially because it does not stand more firmly, he concludes it is modern. To my mind, however, it would be more suspicious if all these external qualifications were precisely met. It disturbs him that Christ and the apostles are set in the vine scrolls, where they have no firm support and must, he feels, inevitably fall out. Evidently he judges a work of art by the crass criteria of actuality; these may fit in a measure the art of Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, the Hellenic countries and Rome, but not the East-Aryan art of which this chalice like the Mshatta façade is representative, namely, the art of Mazdaism and the section of Early Christian art derived from it, which I have defined in my *Origin of Christian Church Art*. For the arrangement of Christ and the apostles there are parallels even in Hellenistic variants of Iranian models. On the well-known Lateran pilasters with vine decoration<sup>3</sup> a ladder leans against a vine scroll growing out of a vase; according to the criteria of actuality the whole thing would be unstable like Christ and the apostles. Again on the vine-decorated column drums in the Constantinople museum<sup>4</sup> Christ as Good Shepherd stands on a vine scroll and would fall like the seated figures on the chalice. The same applies to the Baptism on these drums: the water of the Jordan seen in the scrolls would tumble down as would also the three figures of the group. Such considerations are inapplicable outside a narrow range of European art concerned with the imitation of actuality. Eisen was so absorbed and pleased with the Greek type of figure that he did not take up these matters. If he had written a second part dealing with the history of the vine scroll and its Mazdaistic significance, to which I have referred in my study of Mshatta and repeatedly since, Wilpert would have been deprived of this argument and of any worry because while Christ, "so to speak, is sitting on the first floor, the apostles are placed on the mezzanine."

Wilpert has won considerable applause by pointing out parallels to objects he considers forged. As formerly for the "Cup of Constantine" so now for the chalice he has found a late artistic source from which its maker presumably drew. This is a Renaissance monu-

3. *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXV, 1904, p. 298.

4. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I, 1892, pp. 575 ff.

ment, Filarete's bronze doors at St. Peter's, on which there is a *Salvator Mundi* seated on a sort of acanthus throne to give the forger the idea of seating Christ on scrollwork. Here too was a model for the arrangement of animals in the scrolls, the eagle with outspread wings, the hare eating grapes, snails, locusts, and butterflies. But the so-called Maximianus chair at Ravenna furnishes a much more closely related model and there are countless others between its date and that of Filarete's doors, such as the Breviarium Grimani and many other manuscripts. For the Mazdaistic art which was the inspiration of all this style of work in Europe I may refer to my little book *Perso-Indian Landscape* (in which cf. particularly fig. 16<sup>5</sup>). I reproduce here something rather different still, one of the mirrors in the Japanese treasure house of the eighth and ninth century, the Shoso-in (Fig. 1). Though this mirror might at first seem to have nothing to do with the chalice or with the art of Christian Rome, I have already shown by confronting a painting on silk in the Zerin-je Temple at Tokyo with the mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano how the characteristic type of Iranian landscape migrated both to the Far East and to the West. Now if we compare the Shoso-in mirror with the chalice and even with Filarete's doors, we see how nearly alike on all three is the scrollwork decoration with animals. It is, as I have already remarked in connection with the scroll frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustæ and the mosaics of the annular vault of S. Costanza, a Mazdaistic symbol that in late Hellenistic times found its way both into Roman art and into the art of the Far East. At Rome, besides the doors of Filarete, there are Early Christian sarcophagi with vine decoration which Wilpert thinks must have been the models for the chalice. He holds that if the chalice were genuine Christ and the apostles would stand in front of the vine scrolls as on a sarcophagus of the grotto of St. Peter's but that as it is the decoration is composed of two incompatible elements. He fails to take into account that the vine on the front of the sarcophagus as well as the niches on its ends are traditional signs of the Mazdaistic divinity merely taken over by Christian art. He does not guess that the chalice may furnish him a key to the understanding of various Roman monuments, like the mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano already referred to. It is true that in the case of the chalice as in that of the Roman sarcophagi two originally remote traditions are amalgamated, the Hellenistic-Roman and the Mazdaistic-Iranian, but Wilpert fails to understand this and attributes to a forger what is unfamiliar to himself. He thinks of the vine as a symbol of autumn, to which putti vintagers belong, and accordingly finds Christ and the apostles in the midst of vine scrolls inappropriate and indicative of the artist's "limited acquaintance with Early Christian art"—possibly a boomerang remark, for Wilpert, looking at everything with Roman eyes, has rejected all he cannot understand. With due and thankful recognition of his industry one cannot but wonder at the narrowness of his horizon.

I am curious to see what the Classical archæologists will say to Wilpert's next sally, the pronouncement that the Boscoreale treasure is a modern fabrication: thus the double representation of Christ on the chalice is deprived of an ancient precedent. The sarcophagi of Ravenna are dragged in as the source from which the forger took the Christ as model for his Augustus. According to Wilpert there are all sorts of mistakes in costume and gesture, offenses against the approved fashions indicated by the Roman monuments. I do

5. In the German edition, *Die Landschaft in der nordischen Kunst*.



FIG. 1—Tokyo, Shoso-in:  
*Japanese Mirror*



FIG. 2—Cairo, Egyptian Museum:  
*Sculptured Fragments with Leaf Design*



FIG. 3—Münster, Collection of Dr. Plenge: *Coptic Tapestry*





FIG. 4—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Detail of Silver Plate from Cyprus*



FIG. 5



FIG. 6

*Cairo, Egyptian Museum: Coptic Limestone Fragments*

not wish to anticipate the Classical archaeologists but I should like to speak of just one object, the plate with the bust of a woman commonly interpreted as Africa. She is surrounded with a whole curiosity shop of attributes that seem for the most part to have no possible connection with her. Wilpert has failed to observe that exactly such contradictory assemblage of attributes is a striking characteristic of territory where Hellenism was only a veneer and its mythology ill understood. I have long been publishing examples of this sort<sup>6</sup> and I reproduce here another one which Professor Plenge has recently sent me for examination (Fig. 3). It is a Coptic tapestry and therefore not subject to question as to authenticity as bone carvings and the like might be. On it is seen a figure with a lion's skin across the breast but otherwise emphatically naked; the figure has a nimbus and two right feet! To the right, beyond an attacking lion, is a second "saint." To the left there is, according to Plenge, a monster with remarkably little legs, a curled tail, and an elephantine head wearing the double crown of Egypt. Below, between the legs of the principle figure is a trident between two dolphins. Can Wilpert apply the standard of Roman "common sense" to this typical example of the Oriental confusion of antique traditions or seek out the Roman models of the forger?

The East in so far as it was dependent on Iran was primarily concerned only with landscape and ornament, in this case accordingly with the vine scroll as a symbol of the might and glory of God and the idea of salvation, for one familiar with the conception of Hvarenah will grasp at once this significance in the decoration of the chalice. It was Dr. Eisen's service to call attention, on the other hand, to the perpetuation of Greek types in the human figures enclosed in these vine scrolls.

I shall not discuss the various Syrian treasures published in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1919, and *Syria*, 1920 and 1926, but leave it to the French scholars to answer Wilpert's attack. I am more interested in the so-called Cup of Constantine in the British Museum (concerning which I take the position of Dalton,<sup>7</sup> and hope for further support from M. Gallois of The Hague) and in the series of plates with David scenes in the Metropolitan Museum. As Wilpert makes an Exultet miniature the forger's source for the "Cup of Constantine," so for the David plates he finds a source in the Shield of Theodosius and concludes that the recurrence of motives constitutes a proof of falsification. He points out that four of the plates show an architectural background somewhat like that which occurs on the Shield of Theodosius but considers it the stupidity of the forger that the gable is illogically omitted over the round arch and that the architrave as well as the arch is decorated with only a double row of opposed leaves. I reproduce a detail (Fig. 4) which shows that the gable is missing indeed, and that the leaves are serrated only along one edge. For this last peculiarity Wilpert might have compared the small capitals found at S. Maria Antiqua and other capitals with Theodosian leafage. Since, however, the plates came from Cyprus, not Rome, Eastern parallels are the real ones to be adduced, which Wilpert utterly fails to consider. For parallel ornament I illustrate here a few Coptic examples, which are sufficient to show that the sort of thing which looks forged to Wilpert had a widespread popularity in the East. Fig. 5 shows column and architrave with round arch and no gable. Fig. 6 shows a rectangular framed niche (according to Gayet, from

6. Cf. *Hellenistische und koptische Kunst in Alexandria* in the *Bulletin de la Soc. arch. d'Alexandrie*, V, p. 53.

7. *East Christian Art*, p. 346.

Edfu) in connection with which I would refer to my volume *Koptische Kunst* in the *Catalogue générale du musée du Caire*, where under no. 7301 I discussed the Egyptian frond scroll, for around the arch of the niche appears the characteristic double scroll with leaves serrated only along one edge, for which I used the term *Fingerblatt* in my catalogue.<sup>8</sup> Fig. 2 gives further parallels from Thebes (Medinet Habu) with this *Fingerblatt*.<sup>9</sup>

Not essentially different are Wilpert's other arguments against the authenticity of the David plates in New York. Throughout he takes a Roman artist as standard and says "an antique artist would never have committed such an error." But he seems to forget that it is the artists of the East that he has to deal with. They continually disregard Wilpert's touchstone, correct antique costume. What Rome in its more realistic than artistic mood held of chief importance was not so regarded everywhere. In the East taste went its own different way, and this fact must be taken into consideration in the study of objects of East Christian art. Incidentally be it noted that the important silversmith's stamps, which Rosenberg has studied and to which I intend to return in another connection,<sup>10</sup> have not been discussed at all by Wilpert. He, as well as some others of his persuasion, reminds me of the Chinese at the time of their discovery of Iran in the second century B. C. As they with their orthodox belief in the Chinese pagoda as the hub of the universe were then much upset, so now at the modern rediscovery of Iran are those Early Christian archaeologists who have been accustomed to attribute a similar central position to Rome.

8. P. 4.

9. Cf. also nos. 7341 and 7343 in my catalogue.

10. *Byz. Zeitschrift*, 1928.



## MOLDAVIAN PORTRAIT TEXTILES

BY ERNST DIEZ

IN the summer of 1925 there was an exhibition in Paris of old paraments from monasteries in Roumania. Most of the examples were liturgical—epitaphs, eucharistic covers, epitrachelia (stoles), epigonatia, and the like. Some were grave covers, decorated with portraits of buried princes and princesses of Moldavia. These needle-work portraits are little known in the history of art, for almost nothing has been written about them, though some have been mentioned in literature.

It will be interesting, in the first place, to consider the portraits briefly in connection with the history of Moldavia, which to-day forms the northern part of Roumania. The oldest of them (Fig. 1) represents a lady, Princess Maria of Mangop, second wife of Stephen the Great, voivode of Moldavia. The cover is dated by the framing Cyrillic inscription, which may be translated as follows: "This is the grave cover of the servant of our Lord, of the pious and Christ-loving Maria, wife of the voivode of the country Moldavia, who entered the eternal abode in the year 6985 (1476 A. D.), December nineteenth, on a Friday, about the fifth hour of the day." Maria of Mangop was a Byzantine princess of the Palæologos family. For political reasons she married Stephen the Great in 1472, but was cast off some time before her death. Stephen VI (1457-1504), called "the Great," was one of the most important voivodes of Moldavia after Alexander the Good (1401-33), who organized the hilly country of Sereth and Pruth, that until his time had been the prey of many, for the most part Polish, princes. Stephen the Great built several churches and the monastery of Putna in the Bukowina. He made Radautz an episcopal see, and a wall painting of him and his family is still to be seen there in the monastery.

The grave cover (Fig. 2) of a later voivode, Jeremiah Movila, who reigned from 1595 to 1606, has been frequently reproduced.<sup>1</sup> It too is dated (1606) in the framing inscription. Politically, Jeremiah was important, but not helpful, to Moldavia in bringing the country under Polish suzerainty. He is better known to-day as a collector of art objects: many of his vases, icons, textiles, and manuscripts<sup>2</sup> are still preserved in Sucevitza. It was probably as founder of the great monastery and splendid church of Sucevitza that he was honored with the beautifully worked grave cover. It shows us a man of more or less controlled brutality. The distinguishing characteristics, broad face, heavy black beard, moustache, and curving eyebrows, are to be seen also in the slightly earlier fresco in the Church of the Resurrection at Sucevitza,<sup>3</sup> where Jeremiah is portrayed with his family.

Better times came under the despot Basilio Lupu (1634-53), an Albanian, whose grave cover (Fig. 3), with that of his wife, Tudosca (Fig. 4), is preserved in the metropolitan

1. For a citation of a number of reproductions see S. Der Nersessian, *Two Slavonic Parallels of the Greek Tetraevangelia: Paris 74*, in *The Art Bulletin*, IX, 3, 1927, p. 261, note 81.

2. For a description of some of the manuscripts see *ibid.*, pp. 227 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, fig. 41.

church of Jassy, the old capital of Moldavia. Lupu founded schools and charitable institutions, and the much-afflicted country enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity under his rule.

These few grave covers, if studied in detail, are enough to give us a conception of this type of portrait embroidery in the Near East under Byzantine influence. They suggest a number of interesting questions, the first of which concerns the technique, its age and its origin.

The technique of these embroidered portraits, so skilfully worked as they are, is generally supposed to follow an ancient tradition. And so it does! "Needle painting" is by no means a new medium of expression. Some years ago the Viennese Orientalist Karabacek wrote a book entitled *Die Persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird*, the last word being the Arabic *terminus technicus* for a technique quite similar to that of our grave covers used as early as the eighth century A. D. But the technique is much older than that: such embroideries are often referred to as "Phrygian needlework" by Homer, Vergil, and the other classical authors, who thus indicate its Oriental origin. They are styled *acu pictus*, or simply *pictus*; hence the embroidered Roman toga was called *toga picta* or *palmata*. I need not go into the history of the technique, in which the most sumptuous dresses, covers, and hangings were worked for the churches, imperial courts, and rich people in Orient and Occident. There are many old sources with hundreds of descriptions of the embroidered pieces. It is superfluous, perhaps, to mention the fact that Constantinople, the metropolis of the Byzantine empire, was one of the principal centers of the industry. It is enough to recall the description by Paul the Silentiary of the gorgeously embroidered textiles in Hagia Sophia. Even scenes from the gospels were embroidered upon garments, as is exemplified in the well-known mosaic of S. Vitale, where the Empress Theodora wears a dress embroidered at the bottom with the Adoration of the Magi. This type of work spread from Byzantium over the whole realm of the Orthodox church—that is, over Russia and the Balkans.

The question arises, whether in Byzantine art, which we are familiar with as an ecclesiastical, dogmatic art, there was an interest in secular subjects, pictures of real life. The question can be answered in the affirmative, though hardly any of this secular art is preserved. We can read descriptions of the paintings and mosaics in the imperial palaces of Byzantium, with representations of deer hunts, wrestling athletes, bathing and dancing women, and all sorts of genre scenes. The only examples of this kind of art preserved from the eighth century, the period of iconoclasm, when secular painting reached its zenith at the Byzantine court, are the wall paintings of Kuşair 'Amra, the charming country seat of some Ommayad caliphs in the Syrian desert. Obviously, these decorations reflect Byzantine secular painting. The hunting parties, fighting athletes, bathing women of antique charm, nude dancing girls, and loving couples are very evidently frequently-painted types; and the caliph with his attendants, represented in true Byzantine manner, betrays the origin of this kind of painting. Certainly, these people—Byzantine emperors as well as Ommayad caliphs—were zealous fighters for their state religion, but at the same time they did not despise the joys of life and they were not fettered by any restrictions.

Portrait painting was a part of this secular Byzantine art and a most important and popular part. Gabriel Millet<sup>4</sup> has written of the predilection of eastern people for family

4. In *Rev. de l'art chret.*, 1911.



FIG. 1—Putna (Bukovina), Monastery:  
Grave Cover of the Princess Maria of Mangop

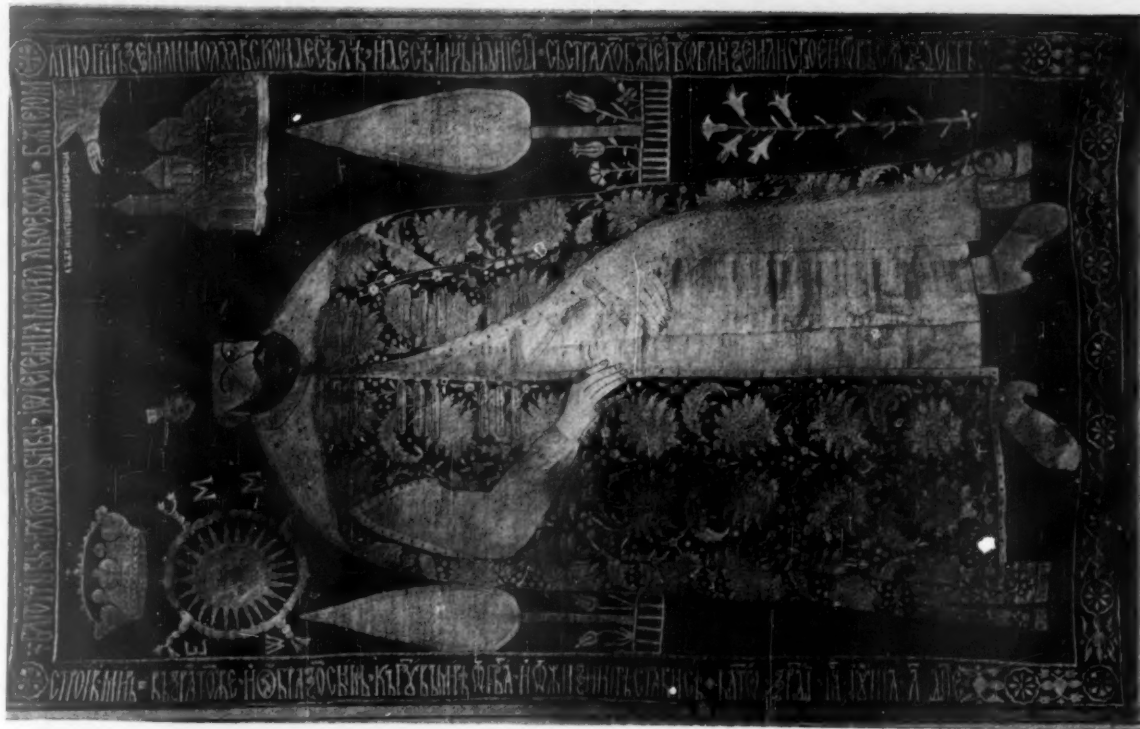


FIG. 2—Sucevitz (Bukovina), Monastery: Grave  
Cover of Jeremiah Movila, Prince of Moldavia



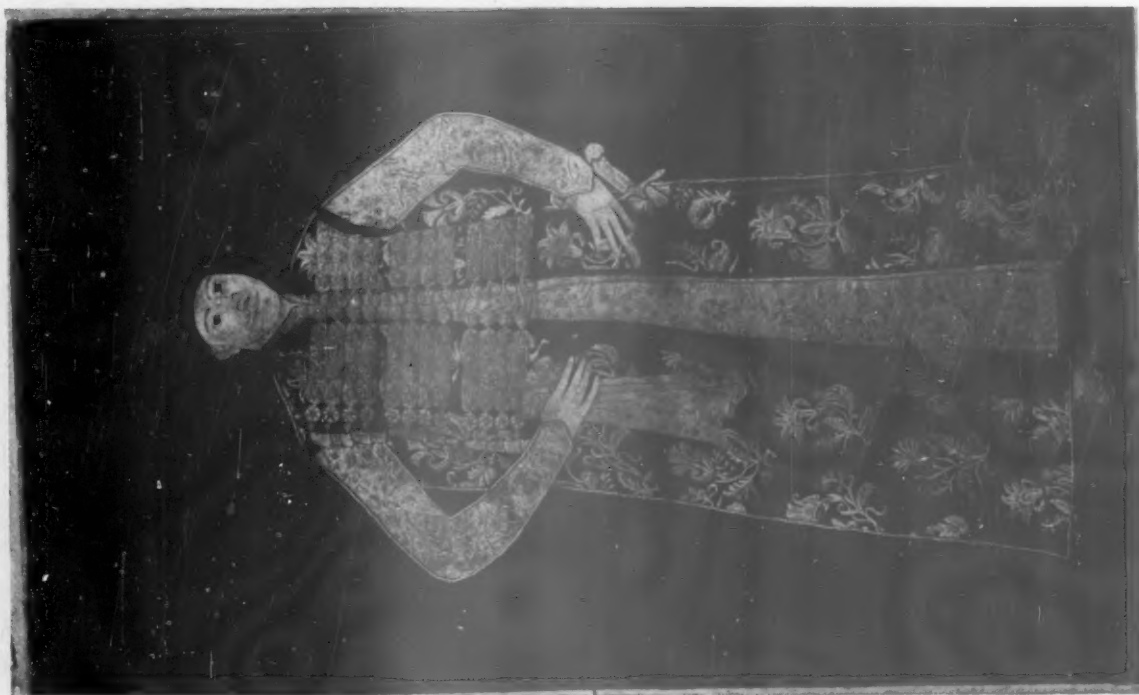


FIG. 3

*Jassy (Roumania), Metropolitan Church: Grave Covers of the Despot Basilios Lupu and  
His Wife the Princess Tudosca Lupu*



FIG. 4

portraits, which developed into a sort of cult. They liked, for example, to put the portraits on the graves, and to mourn for the deceased relatives before the likenesses—a custom which shows the close connection of portraits with the cult of the dead, and throws light upon the origin of the use of our grave covers in that cult. (The practice has been continued, in modified form, down to the present day, especially among East European country people, who like to have a photograph under glass on their gravestones.)

The Byzantine emperors started this portrait gallery. They were frequently depicted in the sumptuous reception halls of their palaces, and it is testified that their portraits often seemed alive and made a deep impression on the visitors. Justinian was portrayed in the Chalke, Mauritios in the porticus of Karianos, in the Blachernæ quarter, Basilios I in the gorgeous Kenourgion, Manuel I Komnenos in the great Blachernæ palace, and so forth. This portrait art entered the churches, where we find portraits of the emperors again, as well as portraits of donors; there are striking examples, such as the portrayal of the Palæologos Theodoros I, the tyrant of Mistra in the garb of a monk, and Theodoros Mesarites in the Kahrié Djami. The imperial portraits were also often woven in, or embroidered upon, the textiles, as can be seen on the labara or trabeæ of the consuls represented on ivory diptychs. Such textiles were sent abroad as donations to churches and monasteries in Italy and elsewhere.

Thus, our Moldavian portraits were not unique, though they are the only examples of this textile portrait painting that have been preserved to the present day. We know scarcely anything about the tombs and graves of the later Byzantine emperors; it is more than likely, however, that they were covered with embroidered portraits similar to those in the Moldavian monasteries. The practice was an Oriental custom, and was even continued by the Turks in Constantinople and elsewhere, though in a modified form, for the Turks did not portray the human figure on their grave covers.

Our Moldavian portraits show still another connection with Byzantium: the costumes are Byzantine. But the Byzantines themselves took their models from such Oriental courts as the Persian and from conquered Orientalized barbarians in the Crimea and Asia Minor. The predilection of the Byzantine court for the customs and costumes of those barbarian courts has been fully discussed.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the Byzantine emperors and their ambassadors cultivated connections with the barbarian princes of the neighborhood, the Russians, Petschenegs, Skyths, Khazars, and other peoples of the Black Sea region, and honored them with rich, embroidered costumes from the Byzantine court. This was the way in which the Byzantine costumes were spread over all countries of Eastern Europe, especially over the Balkans, some of them coming even to the Carolingian and Hohenstaufen courts. On an embroidered Crucifixion (dated 1500) in the monastery of Putna, at the bottom of which Stephen the Great and his wife appear as donors, Stephen wears the *kavvadion*, a long caftan-like cloak with long sleeves, which the Byzantine court imported from the Persians in the fourteenth century and which was always, as here, richly bordered with precious stones on gold (Fig. 5).<sup>6</sup> In Byzantium this *kavvadion* was worn only by the emperors and by courtiers of high rank. Stephen wears also a high crown like

5. Kondakoff read one of his last papers on this subject at the Byzantine Congress in Bukarest, and Ebersolt dealt with it in his book *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance*.

6. Our reproduction is copied from O. Tafrali, *Le trésor byzantin et roumain du Monastère de Putna*, Paris, 1925.

the tiara or *toupha*, which was reserved exclusively for the Byzantine emperor. But the Byzantine empire came to an end in 1453, and Stephen usurped the crown, justified, as he probably thought, by his marriage with a Byzantine princess of the Palæologos family, his second, but not his last, wife. The woman who appears as companion donor on the Crucifixion embroidery is his third consort (Fig. 6). She too wears a *kavvadion*, and her headdress is the Byzantine *propoloma* or tympanum, decorated with *fleurs-de-lis*. Stephen's second wife, the noble Maria of Mangop, wears a very similar crown, but much more finely worked, on her superb grave cover (Fig. 1). Her tympanum is shown with all its details of gold wire work, precious stones, and pearl hangings. Both Maria of Mangop and Jeremiah Movila wear Byzantine cloaks of Perso-Assyrian origin, the so-called *granatza*, conspicuous on account of its long sleeves reaching to the ankles. Only the Byzantine emperor was entitled to wear this *granatza* without a girdle; the high court officials and vassals were permitted to wear it only with a girdle in which the sleeves were fastened at the back—an old Oriental symbol of the servitude of courtiers. The usual headdress of the Moldavian princes, a sort of turban decorated with a tuft of feathers, likewise was adopted from Byzantium, whither it had come principally from Persia. Jeremiah Movila (Fig. 2) wears such a turban. The embroidered hat with feather tuft worn by our princess Tudosca (Fig. 4) is a later fashion of this sort of headdress.

To appreciate the full significance of the art of the Moldavian grave covers one must understand the normal art of the country. Moldavia is in the Balkans, where we find a non-representational, ornamental folk art. But the great abundance of ornament in this folk art and the technical skill that it displays are evident everywhere in the Balkans, in the national costumes of the people as well as in the collections of textiles in their museums. Thus there is a striking contrast between the indigenous art and the art imported from Byzantium. Though the grave covers are decorated with portraits of the deceased, like the tomb slabs of Western Europe, the stone slabs, even of the princely tombs, in the Balkans are covered with ornamental designs, the normal expression of the abstract mind of these peoples, whose original habitat was in the northeastern Steppes. On the stone epitaphs of the Moldavian voivodes in the monasteries the typical decoration is composed of an oblong middle compartment filled with two intersecting garlands and framed with the inscription and another narrow garland round the edge.<sup>7</sup> A similar epitaphic decoration predominates in Armenia and the Islamic countries. And looking into the past we find the same style in the metalwork of the migrations, the center of which has been located by Strzygowski in the valleys of the Altai. This genuine Eastern art with Northern spirit, which was developed by the migrating peoples of the Steppes and was disseminated, especially by iconoclastic Islam, over the whole Eastern world, confronted in the Balkans another branch of Eastern art, developed by the concrete mind of Southern peoples. This second branch had once been the Classical art of Hellas. It now lost its plasticity and tactile value and became a mere decorative, but still representational, art, depending for its chief effects upon color and luster. This is especially well exemplified in our early grave covers, which betray some influence of the popular folk art. For example, flowers and trees are used as mere ornamental surface filling on the background of the cover of Jeremiah

7. Cf. Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukowina*, Vienna, 1903.





FIG. 5

*Putna (Bukowina), Monastery: Stephen the Great, Prince of Moldavia, and His Third Wife*  
*Details of a Crucifixion Embroidered on Silk*

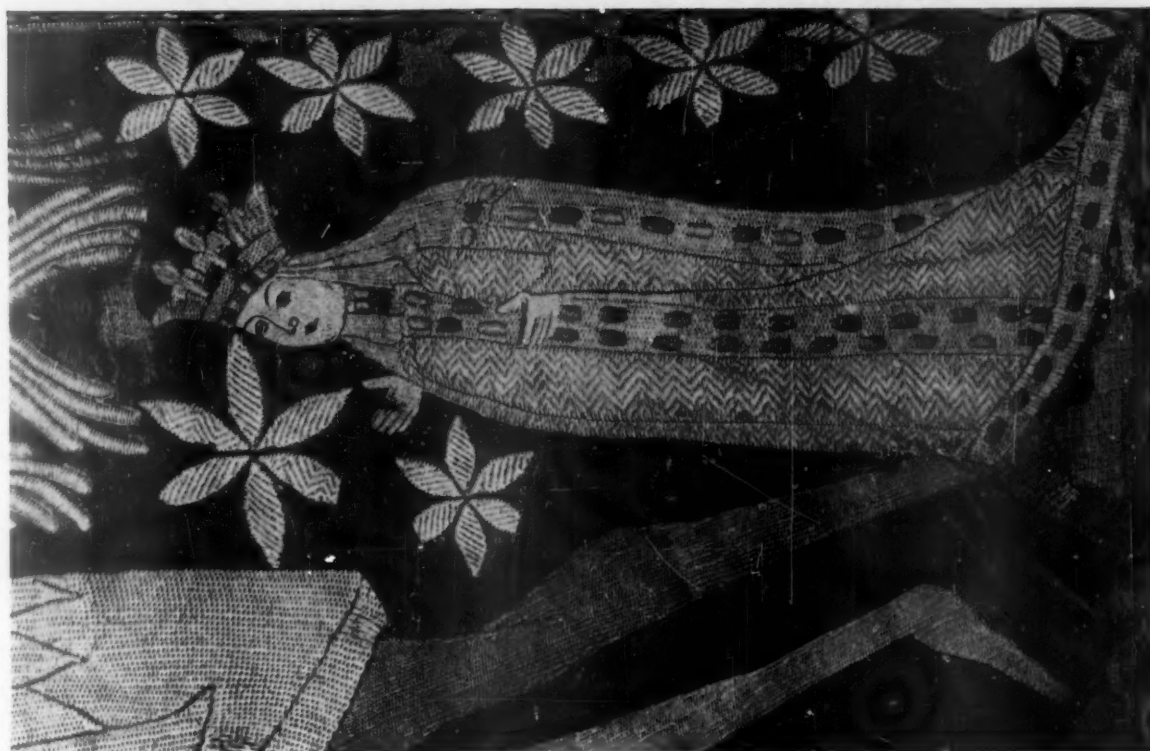


FIG. 6



Movila, and there is no reasonable proportion between the gorgeous gold-worked palmettes of the coat and the figure itself. But the rich decoration does not overpower the work as a whole. The artistic effect is saved by the color harmony: there is a pleasing balance between the red background of the cover and the gold, silver, and colored silk embroidered figure and ornaments. The cover of Mary of Mangop, about a hundred and thirty years older, is still more harmonious; it is probably the most beautiful one in the group. Here a red background is used only around the head and shoulders, but red occurs again in the pomegranate pattern of the blue coat, and there are fine balances and contrasts in the whole design of this cover. Western influence brings greater freedom and individuality in the later covers, even more noticeable in the Lupu covers (Figs. 3, 4), of the middle of the seventeenth century, than in the Movila cover (Fig. 2), of 1606. The backgrounds of the Lupu covers are no longer filled with ornament, and the figures show some tactile value. These covers are harbingers of the full emancipation of figure art from the ornamental style in the Eastern Christian countries of Europe, an emancipation accomplished before the end of the seventeenth century.



## REVIEWS

D E KERAMIK VON SAMARRA. By Friedrich Sarre. ix, 103 pp., 202 figs., 39 pls. Berlin, Reimer, 1925.

The ceramics described in this volume were found in the debris of the palaces and private houses at Samarra and vicinity. The excavated material, which consists of unglazed and glazed pottery, because of its ornament and various methods of decoration is of great importance to every student of the ceramic art of the Near East.

Unglazed pottery forms a great part of the ceramic finds at Samarra and shows many varieties of shapes and methods of decoration. The shapes of the large water vessels with four handles are the same as in the later period in the so-called Mosul pottery of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The small jugs are reminiscent of the Parthian and Sassanian vases, which shows how strongly the tradition of forms and design persisted in the Euphrates and Tigris region. The most primitive decoration of these vessels for everyday use is of incised lines or applied rope bands. The majority of these fragments, being found in private houses of Samarra, can be assigned to the ninth century.

Other unglazed pottery unearthed in Samarra and vicinity was decorated with circular stamps of various designs, such as rosettes, crosses, interlacings, dots, and inscriptions. The inscriptions, which are discussed by Herzfeld (pp. 81-92), are of great interest as they give signatures of potters. The following names occur: Umar, Ubaid, Zikri, Isa, Ahmar, and Abi Khalid. Besides ceramics with simple forms of stamped decoration there are fragments, mostly found in Ghanaur, in the vicinity of Samarra, decorated with human figures and animals. The stamped decoration of these fragments is also related to those found at Takrit, north of Samarra. The animals represented here are: rams, antelopes, oxen, ibexes, also horsemen. Some of the fragments show crosses beside animals, and it is very probable that they are products of native Christians. They seem to be earlier than the majority of Samarra wares and, judging from the style, we may assign them, especially those found at Takrit, to the seventh or eighth century. In my article *Early Muhammadan Pottery* (*Burlington Magazine*, November, 1926), I pointed out the analogy which exists between the style of animals on the Takrit fragments and of those on an unglazed vase which, according to the dealer, was found at Kufa. It seems to be contemporary with the Takrit and Ghanaur fragments. The ornaments of some fragments found in private houses are of special interest as they are similar to the stucco decoration of Samarra. Some of them such as the spirals (nos. 42, 43) forming heart shapes appear also in the Tulunid ornamentation of Cairo. A fragment of a large vessel (no. 47) shows a decoration of pointed triangular arches filled with lozenges, diapers, and conventional floral devices. These arched compartments occur also in the eleventh or early twelfth century Mesopotamian pottery, and are filled with animal figures characteristic of the Seljuk period. The decoration of the above Samarra pottery was made with the help of molds, a tech-

nique which continued also in later periods. The date of mold no. 89 is not indicated by Sarre but seems to be rather of the eleventh or twelfth century than of the ninth century. The majority of fragments of unglazed pottery with pressed decoration, found in the palace at Ashig, may be assigned to the ninth century. They are the predecessors of the unglazed pottery of later periods which dates from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. A detailed study of this unglazed pottery, often very elaborately decorated, would be of great value for students of Mohammedan ornament.

Another technique of decoration found among the unglazed Samarra ceramics is the so-called Barbotin technique. In this technique the paste is applied to the surface of the vessel, and forms the pattern in relief. The decoration is here quite simple and one vessel (no. 60) shows very crude female figures which suggest the images of the ancient Oriental goddess Ishtar. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries we find the highest development of the Barbotin technique. Several fragments of later ware have been found in Takrit.

Two of the following chapters are devoted to the glazed pottery of Samarra. From Sarre's description the reader gets an idea not only of the richness of design but also of the various complicated technical methods of Mesopotamian potters of the ninth century. The first chapter deals with the more crude vessels covered with a blistery, decomposed, alkaline glaze. It is interesting to note Professor Sarre's remark, that the change of color in glazes is due to the fact that sometimes there is no engobe under the glaze. The blistery character of the glaze is the same as on the Sassanian pottery described by Sarre in his *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*.

In the next chapter Sarre describes the glazed pottery decorated with bands in Barbotin technique. The two intact green glazed vessels were not obtained from excavation but were purchased in Samarra and Bagdad. They must also be of the ninth century as fragments of similar pottery were found in Samarra. The decoration of the upper part consists of thin bands forming scrolls, wavy bands, and dotted lines. Both jars have short necks, which are rare in the later periods. On the contrary, the earlier type which Sarre assigned to the period between the third and seventh centuries becomes more common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Another group of ceramics found mostly in the harem buildings of Samarra consist of very fine and thin fragments of pottery of white-yellow clay. The vessels were either entirely or partly covered with glazes in green, blue, and yellow, some of which show a very shiny surface. These latter ones are very interesting both from a technical and ornamental point of view. The glazes cover only the ornament while the rest of the vessel is unglazed. Interesting specimens are nos. 123 and 124. The former shows scrolls with feather leaves with thick green and yellow glazes. The ornament of the latter consists of similar design in a

lozenge diaper glazed in green, blue, and yellow. According to Sarre, this type of ceramics is very rare and only few specimens are known. Vignier in Paris possesses a complete jug of this type with a dotted decoration.

The fifth chapter deals with ceramics with relief decoration of geometrical or conventional floral design covered with green glaze. Fragment no. 125 is worth mentioning as it shows a design of zigzag bands and rosettes, analogous to the pattern of the Mshatta façade in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. The prototype of this pattern appears on a Hittite seal (Hogarth) in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The fine clay of this ware is not yellow but pinkish, but is quite different from the clay of the Fostat wares. Judging from the design, which is of Mesopotamian character, they must be products of Mesopotamia.

The discovery of lustered wares at Samarra incited among scholars a great controversy as to the origin of the luster technique. There are three principal theories on this important question. That of Pézard regards Persia as the cradle of lustered ceramic art; Sarre's theory is that the luster technique is a Mesopotamian invention. Finally there is Butler who regards the luster of Egypto-Roman origin.

The first group described by Sarre has a gold luster and a relief decoration. Under the transparent glaze, colored with iron and antimony, appear, sometimes, green or blue-green spots. The clay is very fine, hard, and of yellowish-red or brick-red color, which is less frequent among the Samarra ceramics. Sarre regards these ceramics as direct imitations of gold vessels, the use of which was not allowed in the Koran. This, according to Sarre, was the main reason for the invention of the luster in the ceramic art of the Near East. Butler denies that such a prohibition existed in the Koran. The verification of this statement has to be left to Arabists. The fact remains that hitherto no specimens of lustered wares earlier than the ninth century have been discovered, in Mesopotamia, Persia, or Egypt. A fine specimen is the gold-lustered dish standing on three legs decorated with a relief pattern of meander and rosettes. The meander bands terminate in half palmettes. Another lustered plate of this type with a design of hexagons filled with circles and rosettes, and a "button" rim was found at Susa. Pézard calls it Sassanian and dates it in the seventh century. The analogies with the Samarra pieces are so great that this piece also cannot be earlier than the ninth century.

The most beautiful ceramic wares found at Samarra have a rich monochrome or polychrome painted decoration in luster on a white background which consists of an opaque tin glaze. Dr. Arnold's technical analysis of the glazes and pigments is of great interest (p. 97). Technically these ceramics show a greater perfection than the former class of lustered wares with a mere metallic glint. The colors of the painted lustered wares, especially the green and red luster in various shades, are brilliant and their magnificence cannot be found in any other Mohammedan country. The Samarra ceramics painted with light gold or brown-gold luster have their parallels in lustered ware found at Rhages and assigned by Pézard to the eighth century (pls. CXIV-CXXXII). They show design and technique analogous to the Samarra ware (nos. 147-154) and have the same fine yellowish clay which characterizes all

luster ceramics of Samarra. Thus, without any doubt it can be said that the lustered ware found at Rhages is of the ninth century and probably of Mesopotamian and not Persian origin.

Another group of lustered wares of Samarra (nos. 155-161) has a decoration painted in gold, yellow, olive-green or light green, and brown luster on a white background. The design of these ceramics consists of "wing" palmettes—a very characteristic *motif* of Samarra wall decoration—scrolls with cone-shaped *motifs* and various conventional floral devices, lozenge diapers filled with hatching, circles and dots. Noteworthy is a bowl (pl. XIII, 2) with a conventionalized eagle in the center, and a cup (pl. XVI, 2) the ornament of which is analogous to the decoration of lustered tiles in the Sidi Okba mosque at Kairuan. With the help of the Samarra ware we are able to give the tiles a more definite date of about the ninth century. According to traditions, some of the tiles were imported directly from Bagdad and others made on the spot by a Mesopotamian potter. With the help of the lustered ceramics of Samarra we are also able to date many similar wares found at Rhages and in Egypt. The similarity of clay, luster, and design leaves little doubt that the majority of the latter were imported from Mesopotamia though local, much inferior, imitations can also be found. Pézard dates this polychrome group in the ninth century and the former one with monochrome luster decoration in the eighth century. As both kinds were found together they have to be regarded as contemporary.

Great technical skill is displayed by fragments covered entirely with a ruby luster often in connection with other colors (nos. 162, 163), such as yellow, gold, and purple. The blending and brilliancy of changing colors is of highest quality. A beautiful, complete bowl with ruby luster is in the Metropolitan Museum (Dimand, *op. cit.*).

Luster decoration was also used for wall tiles of which excellent specimens were unearthed by Sarre in Samarra (nos. 197-205). Perhaps the finest achievement of Samarra luster painting are the tiles showing a cock (pl. XXII, figs. 121-123) on a yellow marbled background in the center of a circular wreath with palmette devices in the corners, in yellow, dark brown, and red. The design is of great interest, especially in connection with the Sassanian ornament mentioned by Sarre.

Another group of Samarra ceramics shows also a white or creamy-yellow tin glaze with painted decoration in cobalt blue and splashes of green glaze. The clay is of the same fine quality as that of the lustered polychrome wares (nos. 167-196). The decoration consists of stems with naturalistic leaves, palmettes of comma-shaped leaves and other more or less conventionalized floral *motifs*. Such a plate (restored) found in Persia is illustrated in Fig. 1. The clay, glaze, and decoration of this plate are so analogous to those from Samarra (pl. XVIII, I; fig. 105) that a Mesopotamian origin is quite certain. That this technique of painted decoration over a white opaque glaze was also imitated in Persia is shown by the plate of Fig. 2, which was found at Kermanshah. It can be assigned to the ninth or tenth century. The brick-red color of the clay is typically Persian and the decoration, consisting of a lion and a Sassanian foliated scroll in the rim, is painted in manganese brown over a white blistery glaze different from the fine and smooth glaze of the above Mesopotamian ware.

Samarra excavations established a new fact of great importance for the history of ceramic art, that white porcelain was made in China already under the T'ang dynasty and that Chinese stoneware and porcelain were exported in the ninth century westward to the Empire of the Caliphs. Most of the fragments of porcelain were found in the great palace of the Caliphs (Djausaq) so that their dating in the ninth century is quite sure. The stonewares found at Samarra are of grey clay covered with a glaze of grey-green brown, or olive-green color, showing a very fine crackle. They consist mostly of flat bowls on a wide high foot, characteristic of T'ang ceramics, and of vases with short necks with yellow-brown or emerald-green glazes. Besides white semi-porcelains, Sarre found in the palace of the Caliphs pure white porcelain (nos. 216, 217), which was probably made in Hsing-chou in the province Chili. Literary sources tell us of white ceramics comparable to snow and silver, sometimes having a relief decoration such as fishes or water waves. Such a piece has been found in Samarra (pl. XXIV, 1). The bowl, which has a ring foot and a notched wall, shows inside a fish in relief, breathing out air bubbles in spiral lines between parallel lines indicating water; on the sides are flying birds in relief. Though only fragmentary, this bowl is of importance as it is the only evidence of Chinese porcelain of the ninth century. Among Chinese ceramics, imported to Samarra are also familiar stonewares of the T'ang period with splashed or streaked glazes in yellow and green (nos. 218-226). The importance of the Samarra pieces lies in the fact that they, like the similar Shoso-in stonewares, were objects of daily use while similar ceramics found in Chinese graves served mortuary purposes. Of interest is also the technique of those ceramics. First the vessel was covered with a thin opaque engobe, then with three white glazes with fine crackle, and at last with the green splashes which, according to the thickness, appear light or dark. Besides the splashed decoration the ceramics of this type have a graffito design (pl. XXVII, 4) or a relief decoration (pl. XXIII, 1c). The last example is a plate decorated with peacocks of characteristic T'ang style.

Besides the Chinese porcelain and stonewares we find in Samarra local imitations of these ceramics (nos. 231-261). They show the characteristic yellowish clay of finer Samarra ware and also the gray or yellow-brown for the more crude pottery. The glazes are sometimes of excellent quality and very like the Chinese ones. The Mesopotamian potters imitated not only the white porcelain but also the stoneware with splashed glazes, in yellow and green. Many fragments show, in connection with splashed glazes, a graffito decoration. The clay of this ware is brick-red, which is more characteristic of Persian than Mesopotamian ware. But, according to Sarre (p. 71), the pieces are also of local origin and were probably made in Samarra, as they were unearthed in Kurah, the part of the city between the modern town and the Tigris. Similar wares have been found in Persia and are doubtless of local make. The imitations of the T'ang wares spread over the whole East and as far as Italy. They are very often called Byzantine, and are sometimes later than the ninth century as such imitations continued. Some such fragments (nos. 262-273) seem to belong to the eleventh or twelfth century as Sarre suggests.

Sarre's publication is one of the most important recent contributions to the history of Mohammedan ceramic art. It throws light on many doubtful questions and the published material will further the future identification of early Islamic pottery. The printing and illustrations are excellent and of the same high standard as other publications of Dietrich Reimer.

M. S. Dimand

ISLAMIC POTTERY. By A. J. Butler. xxv, 179 pp.; 92 pls. London, Benn, 1926.

Butler, whose works on the history of Egypt are well known, ventured sometime ago into the field of Near Eastern ceramic art by advancing a theory that the pottery with lustered decoration is of Egyptian origin. In his recent book Butler attempts to furnish more evidence for this theory. The tone of the book is highly polemical and directed against Pézard and Sarre, exponents of different theories on the origin of Islamic lustered wares.

The first chapter of Butler's book is entitled *First Beginnings in Egypt*. Here Butler comes to the conclusion that the art of glazing was earlier in Egypt than in Asia, Eastern or Western. *A priori* he states the theory of the superiority and priority of the ceramic art of Egypt and follows its history down to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. He illustrates a bowl (pl. V, B.) in the British Museum with dark blue glaze and red spots showing a luster and dates it in the third century of our era. Though Hall and Wallis believe that this red "luster" must have arisen from some freak or accident in the firing and not in the deliberate exercise of a known ceramic process, Butler says: "Be it so: yet the occurrence of luster here is of some significance, as showing how near the potters of Egypt were in Roman times to the discovery of the splendid mystery." Such arguments from a scholar like Butler are astonishing. On the supposition that the red spots are lustered, i. e., thus applied by a special ceramic process, he builds his whole theory of the Egyptian origin of the luster technique.

The next chapter deals with the *Naucratis and Alexandrian Pottery* and the third chapter with *The State of the Arts in the Early Seventh Century*. In the latter chapter, Butler endeavors to prove that in the time of Justinian the vitality of Egyptian ceramic art continued. Though he is unable to give any direct evidence for such ceramic art, he argues that because in other branches of art great works were produced it is impossible to maintain that, between the Ptolemaic and later Roman times, ceramics had fallen into uttermost decay. From the finds in Egypt we know that the art of glazing in the Coptic period was not very highly developed. The Coptic pottery of the sixth to eighth century was mostly primitive, unglazed, sometimes with a wash or painted.

The fourth chapter is called *The Mesopotamian Theory of the Revival of Ceramic Art in Egypt* and is directed against the theory that at the time of the Arab conquest, the potter's art of Egypt had ceased to exist or was destroyed, and that not until about the tenth century of our era did it revive again, and then through inspiration derived directly from Mesopotamia. As supporters of this theory Butler quotes Migeon, Viollet, Pézard, Marçais, and Sarre.

Chapter V, *Luster Ware and its Origin*, deals with one of the most interesting problems in the history of Near





FIG. 1—New York, Private Collection: Plate with Overglaze Decoration  
Mesopotamian, IX Century



FIG. 2—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Plate with  
Overglaze Decoration. Persian, IX-X Century



FIG. 3—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Vase with  
Lustered Decoration. Egypto-Arabic, IX-X Century

Eastern ceramics. According to Sarre, luster painting is a Moslem art, which arose in Mesopotamia and thence spread westward to Syria, Egypt, and Spain, and eastward to Persia. As has been stated before, Butler's theory is that the art of luster decoration arose in Egypt in Roman times. Butler devotes much space to dealing with the well-known passage of Nasir-i-Khusrau attributing the manufacture of lustered ware to Egypt. The passage is as follows: "At Miṣr [Fostat] pottery of all kinds is made, so delicate and translucent that the hand placed on the outside is visible from the inside. They make also bowls, jars, plates, and other vessels. They make colours for them like those of the stuff called *bāqalimān*. The colours change according to the ways in which you hold the vessel." What is meant by *bāqalimān*? This is explained by Nasir's definition. "At Tinnīs," he says, "and nowhere else in the world they make the stuff called *bāqalimān* which changes its colour according to the time of day." Nasir spent four years in Cairo, from 1046 to 1050 A. D. All this happens then in the eleventh century and though it shows that color-changing luster was made in Egypt at that time (some Fostat fragments may be assigned to this period) it cannot serve as a proof of the Egyptian origin of luster. Butler recognizes here the difficulties of such a theory and his reasoning often leads him to unfounded conclusions. That Nasir says nothing of any local industry at Rakka is not a proof that it did not exist. Butler finds still greater difficulty in facing the problem of the ninth century ceramics with color-changing luster discovered at Samarra. Not being able to disprove the date of the Samarra luster ware, he attempts to show that the design of Samarra pieces is of Coptic origin (pl. XXIX). The resemblances quoted are so remote and without foundation that no serious art historian can take them as evidence. Butler thinks that because Samarra did not produce color-changing luster in the tenth or eleventh century, its occurrence in the ninth century was an isolated phenomenon. Such reasoning leads him to the conclusion that the Caliph Mamun imported potters from Egypt to set up their own manufacturing in Samarra. According to Butler there exists a gap between the Samarra luster ware of the ninth century and subsequent luster of the same kind in Persia, but no such gap can be discovered in the ceramic history of Egypt. Contrary to statements of Butler, one may say that there is no record whatsoever that Cairo potters were imported to Samarra, there is further no evidence of any Fostat lustered ware earlier than the ninth century.

The next chapter is devoted to the supposedly earlier luster wares of Fostat. The fragments of pottery excavated at Fostat belong to various periods and are either of local origin or importations. A fine piece of the Fostat lustered ware and of local make is the gold lustered vase from the Fouquet collection, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (pls. XXV, XXVI). It has always been dated in the tenth or eleventh century, though it may be even later. Butler is inclined to date it in the eighth or ninth century and calls it Coptic as it is "wholly devoid of all resemblance to the most ancient Islamic pottery in style and ornament." One can hardly accept this dating as the ornament does not appear before the eleventh century. There is nothing Coptic about the vase. On the contrary the design is typically Mohammedan in style. On the shoulder of the vase there are fishes which are stylized in a different

way from those of Coptic pottery. Another Fostat piece dated by Butler too early is the bowl showing a priest swinging a censer or lamp (pl. XI). According to the ornament of the garment, the piece cannot be earlier than the eleventh century. If we find in it any Coptic traditional *motifs* it is only natural as the piece is of Egyptian make. On the other hand, nothing Coptic or Byzantine can be seen in the fragment with a peacock (pl. X, A.), though Butler calls it "Coptic of the early Islamic date." His date, given in the illustrations (tenth to eleventh century) seems to be too early and the twelfth century is more probable. Quite surprising is the conclusion which he reaches in this chapter, that the origin of luster ware in Egypt cannot be placed later than the sixth or early seventh century A. D. Neither in this nor in previous chapters has he furnished evidence for dating any of the Fostat lusters in the sixth or seventh century. He further believes that there is evidence to carry back the art of luster painting in Egypt at least to the third or fourth century of our era, quoting again the above-mentioned Egypto-Roman bowl with red spots, which he regards as being "undoubted ruby luster." Butler goes still further and attempts to show that the beginnings of the luster process are of still more ancient date and as evidence quotes a letter written by Hadrian from Alexandria in the year 130 A. D. to Servianus in Rome telling him that he sends him three "*calices allascentes versicolores*." Butler believes that both "*allascentes*" and "*versicolores*" mean color-changing and that the vessels were lustered, though Kisa and others rightly regard the material of these vessels as being glass and not pottery. Butler endeavors then to show that luster was known in the Roman period in other places than Egypt (pp. 60-66). The metallic effect of the surface as seen and described by archaeologists is nearly always iridescence, which is a result of decay. The next discovery of Butler is that of color-changing luster in a gilded glass medallion of the British Museum (pl. VI, A). The luster of the rainbow colors which he believes he sees in it are colors of the spectrum and nothing but the result of the refraction of light. But he insists that the luster "resides" inside the medallion, i. e., between the two glass plates forming the medallion, and that such a result is not accidental. I have examined the gilded glass specimen in the Metropolitan Museum under various angles of light and cannot discover any luster except the mentioned prismatic effect. That color-changing luster is present in this fourth or fifth century medallion is, for Butler, from now on a proven fact, and serves him as evidence in his further argumentation. As a sixth century example of luster he cites two glass fragments with enameled decoration found at Samarra (p. 72). The luster in these fragments is, judging from the description given by Quibell, nothing more than iridescence. Believing now to have proven the priority of Egypt in luster painting Butler goes on to a chapter on *Some Technical Terms in Arabic, Persian, Spanish, and English*. In this chapter it is very interesting to find a statement that alkaline glaze is the oldest one and of Egyptian origin, but the opaque tin glaze which forms the base for all the Samarra lustered pottery, may have arisen in Assyria or Babylonia and probably came to Egypt from Mesopotamia in Roman times.

The next chapter deals with another important problem, *Luster in Spain and North Africa*. The chief field of dis-



covery of luster ware in Spain has been at Madīnah al Zaharah near Cordova, dated in the tenth or eleventh century. Butler cannot but admit that these fragments show a close resemblance to ware found in Mesopotamia, but he again prefers Egypt and gives a curious ornamental comparison as evidence. He refers to the net-work design of the Spanish lustered ceramics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to him the source of the design may be found in some Alexandrian glass work of Roman date (pl. LXVIII). This theory is so naïve that it does not need to be considered at all. Searching for further analogies between Spain and Egypt, he illustrates (pls. XXXI, XXXII) four plates and bowls found at Fostat. They are typical ninth century Samarra ware and no doubt were imported to Egypt from Mesopotamia. Similar ware found in Spain is also of Mesopotamian origin. Lustered ware was discovered at the Qalah (Fortress) of the Bani Hammad in Algeria, built in 1007-1008 A. D. Similar lustered ceramics were unearthed at Tlemcen, on the western borders of Algeria. According to Marçais the Qalah luster pottery came from Iraq. This statement confuses Butler and he says that the Mesopotamian theory is an assumption, "unwarranted by any proof," though he himself relies all the time on unwarranted assumptions.

The next problem to be tackled by Butler is that of lustered tiles at the great mosque of Sidi Okba in Kairuan. According to tradition, Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al Aghlab set up the minbar or pulpit made of planewood from Bagdad, built the dome over the mihrab and covered the walls with tiles also from Bagdad in the year 894 A. D. Butler doubts this story, which is cited by several late Arabic writers, and asserts that general facts of history do not lend color to any such theory at that time. He again believes in the Egyptian origin of the Kairuan luster tiles, but is unable to give evidence for the Egyptian origin. The similarities between the tiles and the Samarra lustered ceramics and stucco decoration suggest a common origin and the same date. In a lustered bowl of The Hague Museum with a cross design, Butler sees Graeco-Egyptian tradition (pl. XXXIII, A.). He does not seem to know that a cross design is an ancient Mesopotamian motif and can be found in Assyrian and Babylonian decoration and has nothing to do with Graeco-Egyptian tradition. In Fostat one can find pottery made locally and imported from Syria and Mesopotamia. In quality the latter is much superior to any local ware both in technique and design. I have compared lustered wares found at Fostat with similar Samarra fragments and find them absolutely identical. The paste and fineness of glazing of Samarra ware is in great contrast to the early ninth or tenth century lustered pottery of Fostat. I am inclined to date in this period a small vase in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 3). It shows the coarse pinkish clay of Fostat pottery. It is covered with a blistery glaze much inferior to the fine Samarra glaze and has a decoration of circles and dots painted in reddish luster. The design is apparently copied from a Samarra piece which is illustrated by Sarre (*Die Keramik von Samarra*, pl. XVI, 1).

In the ninth chapter, *Egyptian and Asian Influences in Early Ceramic History*, Butler again returns to his theory of the priority of the glazed faience of Egypt. Further on he asserts that the wall tile, properly so called

in contrast to brick, was hardly known in Babylonia before the Islamic period. All that has to be proved.

The next chapter deals with *Islamic Origins in Mesopotamia and Persia*. The development of art in Persia during the ninth century is, according to Butler, also due to Egyptian influence. He now leaves for a while the field of ceramic art and deals with the well-known monuments decorated with stucco ornament. He regards the stucco ornament found in the desert monastery, Deir es Suriani, earlier than the ninth century. He thinks it unnatural to draw the conclusion that Coptic art arose in Mesopotamia and reasonable to suppose that the Mesopotamian work was inspired from Egypt. He makes the problem quite easy by dating the stucco work of Deir es Suriani before the year 800 A.D. because the wooden screens of the church are known to be more ancient. Such assumptions are without foundation and hold no value for serious scholars. The style and character of the stucco decoration points rather to Asiatic than Coptic origin. Sassanian influence in Coptic design especially in textiles, is a fact accepted by everybody, even by Falke, who is so strongly pro-Hellenistic.

Chapter XI, *Wall Tiles and other Ware in Persia*, applies the theory of Egyptian origin to Persian tiles. It is true that the Egyptians knew the use of wall tiles from remote times and that this kind of wall decoration continued later in the Roman period. A tile in Eton Museum with a horseman killing a dragon is dated by Butler in the sixth century and regarded as of Roman-Egyptian origin. Both attributions are open to question. That tiles were used in Samarra in the palace cannot but be admitted by Butler. He goes still further and admits that the unnatural thickness of the Samarra tile, which finds no analogy in ancient Egyptian tiles, was something more than a reminiscence of the use of glazed bricks in ancient Babylonian building. This assertion points certainly against Butler and shows that there was continuity of ceramic art in Mesopotamia. But in spite of this continuity he does not believe that any tile work in Persia or Iraq can have a local origin. He thinks that Persia derived the art of tiling from Syria. This is not impossible though not enough material is yet available to prove it. A word must be said about two Persian tiles illustrated in colors on pl. XXI, which Butler considers of the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact they belong to the nineteenth century, are very bad in drawing, and represent the last stage of Persian ceramic art. It is really too extravagant to waste a colored plate in drawing, and represent the last stage of Persian ceramic on two tiles which may be called modern junk. Butler then deals with the so-called Gombroon wares, which are Persian imitations of Chinese porcelain. Such imitations were made already in the ninth century both in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Butler has not much to say about the so-called Gabri ware, the early Mohammedan pottery of Persia, and attempts again to trace this ware to Egypt, referring to a discovery of Flinders Petrie (p. 146). Turkestan or Central Asia are *terra incognita* for Butler. He does not even mention the Samanid ware of the tenth century. I think that Turkestan played a far more important rôle in the development of Mohammedan art than is generally admitted.

Chapter XII is devoted to the pottery of Miṣr, or Fostat. According to Butler the pottery of Fostat ranges from at

least the ninth to the fifteenth century. He believes that in the twelfth century or early thirteenth century another kind of ceramic ware came into fashion in Cairo. The ornament is incised on the body of the vessel and covered with a glaze in various colors. I think that this kind of pottery is of Persian origin and was introduced in Egypt by Persian potters. The fragments shown on pl. XL are not Egyptian but Syrian, as many specimens of this type have been found in Syria. They are different from the Mamluk ware in texture and design and are doubtless importations, though also local imitations exist. Among the fragments are many bearing signatures of the potters who came from Syria.

The thirteenth chapter is called *The Place of Syria in Muslim Ceramics*. Little has been known of Syrian pottery but recent excavations are constantly bringing new material. Butler mentions that Tarsus was the seat of a great manufacture of artistic glazed pottery. As examples of Syrian pottery he shows two very fine cups (pl. VI, B., C.) with a green glaze outside and a yellow inside. They show floral design, vine leaves, or an oak-leaf pattern. They are of very fine workmanship and can be dated in the first or second century A. D. Butler remarks that vessels of this model were known under Islam in Asia and compares two bowls found at Susa (Pérez, pl. L, 1) with the Syrian examples.

In the Turkish period Damascus produced its own pottery (pl. LXXXII) similar in design to that of Asia Minor but with a different color scheme. The existence of a Damascus school of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is denied by Kühnel, who thinks that all pottery of similar type was made in Asia Minor.

In the final chapter Butler deals with *The Rise and Development of Turkish or Anatolian pottery*. Here he traces back the history of tomato-red seen in Turkish pottery of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and finds that it was already used in ancient Egyptian times (p. 163). It is very interesting that he discovers here connections between monuments of Asia Minor and artists of Persia. Many decorative forms were brought in in much earlier times by the Seljuks, who were warriors but with some culture and art developed in their home in Central Asia. According to Butler, many streams of art and many races produced the art of Anatolia. This may be true and I think that especially the Armenians and Persians contributed largely to forming Turkish art. The tomato-red is perhaps of Persian origin brought to Asia Minor by Armenians.

On the whole, Butler has gathered in his book an abundance of material, but has been unable to master it because of lack of method and *a priori* theories. It is unfortunate that historians and philologists so often venture into fields of art without any proper background or understanding of artistic qualities. The results are such books as Butler's, which is, apart from its fine illustrations entirely useless and utterly confusing to the reader.

M. S. Dimand

LANDMARKS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY PAINTING. By Clive Bell. 214 pps.; 20 pls. London, Chatto and Windus, 1927.

To Bell's previous volume, *Since Cezanne*, published in 1922, this is a kind of sequel bearing witness again to his clear mind, good taste, freshness of attack, and unerring

though undogmatic, judgment. Like its forerunner, this is a volume compiled from articles that have appeared in various magazines in England and the United States. As before, the author feels the need of justifying his volume by stating in his preface that he has not made a book out of articles, but articles out of a book. There remains the slight suspicion that Bell was at the outset not conscious of an intent to write a unified volume, yet he has given us a coherent book because of the theme that runs throughout the articles—the new tradition versus the old. The book covers the period from the Neo-Classical revival to the end of Impressionism, from David to Cezanne.

Bell frankly admits that, although capable of looking at a picture purely, as though it were the only sort of thing in existence and so reacting to it in a way to appreciate it perfectly, he is incapable of holding his aesthetic emotion under such control as to be able to render expression to the result. For, he says, one must be a painter to perform that feat; and painter he is not. On this account, his chapters are devoted not to particular works of art, but to particular artists, their artistic ideas, their connections with other artists, and their relation to movements and to their age.

In his prolegomena Bell comments on the painting of the Victorian era, showing very effectively how the advent of photography was one of the causes of the Victorian debacle and how that invention affected the honest, academic painters by converting them into mere "pictorial chatterboxes." Although he shows how these "impure" painters were obviously beaten at their own game, as far as photographic representation was concerned, he does not adequately account for their failure in other respects. For these painters had the quality of sentiment to offer, a quality which the public showed a willingness to accept at the rate of a thousand guineas a canvas. Very different was the case of the "pure" artist who, unaffected by the camera, continued to create expressive forms and to appeal solely to the aesthetic sense.

In the chapter entitled *The Greeks and the Romans*, Bell introduces David, "deputy for Paris and originator of laws based on sculpture and politics." Nevertheless, David is praised for his admirable painter-like qualities, as shown in his portraits. Ingres is shown never to have been a true Davidian, but to have joined hands with Raphael by the exquisite expression of his line. Bell cites a significant exclamation of Ingres before the early work of a favorite pupil, "*Ah, mon cher, conservez toujours cette bien heureuse naïveté.*" Does this not show all the outward signs of Post-Impressionism?

In his pages on the English, Bell presents a concise picture of the events that paved the way for Romanticism, adding that it was neither Gericault nor Delacroix, but Bonington who was the most serviceable intermediary between French and English painting, for it was he who induced Constable to send the three already famous pictures to the salon of 1824. Bell also makes the interesting point that the directness of Constable was made possible largely by the English practice of painting in water colors.

In commenting on Gericault, Bell risks setting against that painter all the artists of the world by quoting his written opinion, "*Chaque école a son caractère; si l'on pouvait parvenir à la réunion de toutes les qualités,*

*n'aurait-on pas atteint la perfection?*" Is this not the "pedantic blather of a doting old eclectic?" Yet, as Bell points out, Gericault was one of the most daring and original of all painters and would never have made a chief of any school because he lacked the necessary "stupidity and intolerance." Yet Delacroix, who lacked precisely these qualities, did become leader of a revolution. In this connection, however, the reader is reminded of the fact that although Delacroix was undisputed chief of the Romantic school, he never admitted that he was a Romantic. In fact he admired Virgil, Racine, Raphael, and the Greeks, all of whom were anathema to his Romantic followers. Delacroix was considered a Romantic merely because the Neo-Classical school was against him. Bell does not rate Delacroix as a great painter, but as one whose "passionate belief in individualism makes him a hero of modern painting."

The treatment of the Barbizon painters is conventional, except that in a passing reference to "The Gleaners," Bell says that Millet through his "determination to surround these humble folk with a sense of the grand forever and the great beyond, renders the composition slightly ridiculous." Here he goes on to raise the question, "Is painting a knack, or is it the expression of a mind?" He treats these as alternate possibilities, favors the first, and adds that the painter uses this knack to "externalize something in himself other than knack." According to this statement, is it not obvious that the two are not mutually exclusive? Without this something to externalize, knack is altogether useless: without knack all the best intentions in the world would be of no avail. No problem seems to be involved, except that in the case of Corot, as is shown, knack did not always find genuine emotion to go with it; this accounts for some of Corot's "trash."

Turner, in Bell's opinion, has only one claim to fame, namely, the recognition of him by the Impressionists as one, perhaps the chief, of their masters. His only important period, and that which forms a landmark in nineteenth century painting, is paradoxically his third, or weakest, for it is this period that influenced the Impressionists.

Throughout, Bell exerts every effort to give his readers such clear information and advice as to dispel any possible misconception they may harbor concerning the masters of the past century. The author draws a powerful picture, revealing the innermost characteristics of the mind of each master, the conflicting forces that raged within him, the thrust and parry of idea against idea, and the final compounding of all those elements that gave form to his genius. Undoubtedly Bell has given a correct perspective of nineteenth century painting.

Meyer Rosenblatt

**DIE DEUTSCHEN BRONZETÜREN DES FRÜHEN MITTELALTERS.** By Adolph Goldschmidt. 43 pp.; 103 pls. 410. Marburg, *Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar der Universität*, 1926.

This is the first of a series of volumes on the bronze doors of the Middle Ages, which will eventually include those of Italy as well as of Northern Europe.

The publication of the first volume with text by Professor Adolph Goldschmidt and an unusual series of illustrations made by the Department of Fine Arts in Mar-

burg University under the direction of Professor Richard Hamann, gives the reader a splendid corpus of material on the subject. Not only is every panel of each door illustrated, but frequently this is shown in two or three views, from the side as well as from the front. Such an exposition of sculpture in bronze is unique in archaeological publications and shows how important it is to see even bas-reliefs from all angles.

Perhaps the most pleasing feature in the text is the complete absence of long and intricate discussions which confuse rather than enlighten the reader. Although much has already been written and many theories exist as to the composition of some of these doors, Dr. Goldschmidt gives his conclusions in a lucid manner; as a result the reader obtains a crystal clear conception of the subject without being led through the mazes of conjecture and hypothesis which have centered around these doors for the past generation.

The four bronze doors of the cathedral at Aachen offer evidence of an artistic tradition and an experience in craftsmanship unknown in Germany during the Carolingian period. The sculptors called thither from Italy and Byzantium remain strictly within Classical limits. Lions with rings in their mouths form the knockers of the doors; in the heads of the larger *Löwentür* the planes are flowing, the contrast of surface smooth and gradual, giving proof of a direct contact with antique prototypes. The three pairs of heads on the small doors are evidently by a later hand, the animal features are deeply furrowed, the surfaces are incisively defined.

The doors of the cathedral of Mainz follow next in order of time. Professor Goldschmidt suggests 1009 as their probable date though the lion-head knockers are of the thirteenth century. These show a pronounced mediaeval character in that the features have lost the suggestion of humanity so noticeable in the three small doors at Aachen.

The Hildesheim doors were erected for the church of St. Michael between 1008 and 1015 by order of Archbishop Willigis of Mainz, who doubtless had seen the doors of S. Sabina at Rome and of S. Ambrogio at Milan. They were transferred in 1030 to the cathedral of the same town. Although the bronze reliefs show a certain unity Goldschmidt considers that they are the work of different hands after a cartoon executed either by a single artist or by one of the sculptors themselves. That the first inspiration should have been taken from a drawing is evidenced by various earmarks characteristic of illuminated manuscripts. Examples of this influence are the incorrectly foreshortened wings of the angels taken from the Carolingian miniatures, the fig trees rendered in the manner of the Ottonian school of illumination and more especially characteristic of the school of Echternach, the alternation of the figures and trees as in the Tours cycle and the Bamberg Bible of Alcuin.

In an accurate differentiation of hands one could go so far as to single out six or seven different artists. Fundamentally, however, the discrepancies between the reliefs could be reduced to the following: some of the compositions are closely knit together both in conception and composition, in others each object seems to stand independently although the motives employed are the same throughout; sometimes the drapery is carefully modeled and well defined, at other times summarily rendered; some of the



figures show freedom of movement and close observation of anatomy, others again are poorly articulated and carelessly modeled.

Goldschmidt studies the iconographical problems presented by the special rendering of all scenes, such as the Nativity and the Crucifixion, and finally emphasizes the unusually expressive value of the reliefs, the logical sequence of events within each scene, the evidence of intuition and interpretative power on the part of the artists. Stylistic details are further examined and the process of casting and chiseling is accurately analyzed.

New light is thrown on many interesting points relating to the Augsburg doors. Here the reliefs are cast separately and held together by a wooden frame as in the Italo-Byzantine doors of Trani, Ravello, and Monreale, to which they are closely related from the point of view of technique. The wings are not of equal size, one being wider than the other owing to the insertion in the center of the panel of seven smaller reliefs. The figures are very slightly raised upon an absolutely plain background. The subjects of the larger reliefs recur on either wing in a different order and with slight variations. To explain the unequal size of the wings Goldschmidt reminds us that the Romanesque cathedral was begun in 994 and that the door was probably built at this period. Later, it must have become apparent that the opening prepared for it was too large and it became necessary to widen it. This was achieved by the addition of the smaller reliefs, which appear to be slightly later in date. The cathedral was completed between the years 1006 and 1065 but the technique of the small reliefs indicates a period not later than 1050.

The interpretation of the figures is closely related to the order in which they should be placed and, in this re-ordering, the alterations carried out in the molds between the first and the second casting prove slightly disconcerting; beards were invariably added, the position of the arms and the attributes often changed. Goldschmidt reproduces a reconstruction of the original order of the subjects, without the smaller reliefs. With the exception of the representation of the four seasons, the artist's intention appears to have been to show in each relief the contrast between good and evil, a favorite conception during the later Middle Ages. The examples chosen are Moses and the Snake, The Prophet and David, Sampson and the Lion, Sampson and the Philistine, a Bear or a Lion Pursuing its Prey. The meaning of the Lion Pursued by a Centaur is doubtful. The smaller plaques, with the single exception of the Creation of Adam and Eve, are related in subject to the larger reliefs.

Venice was the nearest source of inspiration for the Augsburg doors; the style of the figures, however, is not Byzantine but Ottonian, particularly in the use of the widespread drapery. According to Goldschmidt this door is the work of three artists, who can be differentiated by the types of the heads.

Dr. Goldschmidt's exposition of this subject is, as all his works, both logical and constructive; he does not describe *in extenso* but emphasizes by a phrase or adjective a few points which would otherwise pass unnoticed; he suggests vivid images and with a few magic touches gives vitality to what would otherwise be lifeless.

Margherita Scolari

**DIE DEUTSCHEN ROMANISCHEN HANDSCHRIFTEN.** By Hermann Julius Hermann. Vol. II, Part II of *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich: Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der National Bibliothek in Wien*. 466 pp.; 44 pls.; 236 figs. Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann, 1926.

This enormous volume appears as the latest of the series of catalogues of manuscripts in Austria undertaken by Professor Julius Schlosser in collaboration with various specialists in the field of manuscript illumination. The present volume is the second which deals with the manuscripts in the National Library in Vienna and includes those of German and Austrian provenance from the eleventh century to the early part of the thirteenth. They are classified under the following divisions: German manuscripts of the eleventh century; German manuscripts of the first half of the twelfth century; German manuscripts of the second half of the twelfth century; Austrian manuscripts of the twelfth century; a Bohemian manuscript of the twelfth century; manuscripts from Krain (Jugoslavia); German manuscripts of the first half of the thirteenth century; and Austrian manuscripts of the first half of the thirteenth century.

Most of the German manuscripts seem to come from the southern monasteries of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, with a few from the regions of the Rhenish Palatinate, Alsace, and Cologne. Most of the Austrian ones are located in the vicinity of Salzburg.

Two of the manuscripts which are listed in the first division (German manuscripts of the eleventh century) and are tentatively put into the Reichenau group, that scrapbasket for unidentifiable South German manuscripts of the eleventh century, can, however, be localized more precisely. I refer to nos. 982 (Theol. 355) and 573 (Hist. Eccl. 135) which appear as nos. 3 and 5 in the present publication. In my article on the scriptorium of Einsiedeln (*The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3, 1925, pp. 79 ff.) I mentioned no. 573 as belonging to the Einsiedeln group of the eleventh century. The types of the figures, the colors, and the initials are identical with those used in the group at Einsiedeln, e. g., nos. 113, 114, and 151, and in the Codex Aureus from Pfäfers at St. Gall. The initials of no. 982 at Vienna are also in the same class, of which there are a great many still at Einsiedeln, e. g., nos. 117, 140, 147, *et al.* The style is very concrete and readily recognizable.

Another manuscript which deserves particular notice is no. 1879 (Rec. 1716), a twelfth century Psalter made for the monastery of Siegburg, near Cologne. It contains among other illuminations the scenes of the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Adoration, which have special treatment at the corners of the frames enclosing the pictures. At the corners there are busts of prophets with scrolls inscribed with verses from their respective writings which refer to the scenes depicted on the pages. They furnish another instance of those typological representations of Biblical scenes which reached their apogee in the *Biblia Pauperum*, and therefore they should be added to the list of prototypes mentioned by Henrick Cornell in his work on the *Biblia Pauperum*.

The volume represents an immense amount of work and is the sort of thing one might wish were being done by other important libraries with large collections of

mediaeval manuscripts. Only by such a systematic presentation of material is research in this field to be facilitated.

Ernest T. DeWald

LES LIVRES D'HEURES MANUSCRITS DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. By Abbé V. Leroquais. Vol. I, 359 pp.; Vol. II, 463 pp.; Vol. III, 130 pls. Paris, 1927.

The publication of any work by so eminent a scholar as l'abbé Victor Leroquais is sure to receive a warm welcome. If the author had never published anything more than his monumental work on *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1924) he would have earned the undying gratitude of mediaeval scholars. Within an incredibly short time, however, M. Leroquais now presents another study of an important group of manuscripts, issued in the same format as his earlier publication, with two volumes of text and a volume of 130 beautiful plates.

Thousands of copies of Books of Hours are preserved in public and private libraries, but the author has confined himself to the group of 313 manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. This unique collection contains examples dating from the thirteenth century to the time of Louis XIV, for the most part French in origin. Such a publication is especially welcome as the attention of scholars has hitherto been almost exclusively devoted to the illustrations of the Book of Hours, and the study of the text has been relegated to the background. This neglect can be explained by the fact that the Book of Hours is not so important from the point of view of liturgy as the missal and pontifical, and accordingly liturgical scholars have not given the text the attention it deserves.

Created to satisfy a need of piety on the part of the faithful from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the Book of Hours was essentially the prayer book of the Middle Ages. It has sometimes been confused with the "special missal," but the latter never contains the small office of the Virgin and the office of the dead, essential elements of the Book of Hours. The Book of Hours has also been confused with the prayer book (*liber precum, preces piae, devotae preces*), but the prayer book does not contain the calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the office of the dead, nor, usually, the penitential psalms and litanies. The breviary, containing the divine office and the official book of liturgical prayer, has also been frequently confused with the Book of Hours, such as the so-called Hours of René de Lorraine (lat. 10491). The Book of Hours is derived from the breviary and borrows from this source the calendar, short office of the Virgin, penitential psalms, litanies, prayers, and office of the dead, but is distinguished from the breviary by its complete independence of the liturgical cycle. The Book of Hours omits the order of the feasts of the Christian year, the feasts of the martyrs and saints, the anniversaries of the dedication of a church, or the translation of relics. The reading is never obligatory, and is outside the control of the church. Whereas the breviary is the book of the priest, the Book of Hours is the book of the faithful, in short a breviary for the use of the layman.

The evolution of various elements in the Book of Hours can be traced from the ninth century. As early as the

time of Alcuin and Charles the Bald *libelli precum* for the use of the layman were employed, and from the time of Charlemagne books were written which contained the short office of the Virgin, the gradual psalms, the penitential psalms, the litanies, and the office of the dead. The Psalter, however, remained the common book of prayer until the thirteenth century. At this period the custom of adding supplementary prayers to the canonical offices became universal throughout Western Europe and the first Books of Hours were a combination of the Psalter and of the Book of Hours. At first the Psalter formed the most important part of the manuscript and the Book of Hours was a sort of appendix which became more and more important until it detached itself completely from the Psalter. The two oldest types of this category in the Bibliothèque Nationale are an English and a Rhenish manuscript (lat. 10433 and lat. 1079), both of the late twelfth century. The combination of Psalter and Book of Hours continued throughout the thirteenth century, but it was in this century that the Book of Hours appeared isolated from the Psalter, the earliest type of which is shown by a manuscript from Passau (lat. 10526). From the fourteenth century on the Book of Hours was completely separated from the Psalter and formed a separate collection.

During the fifteenth century the use of the Book of Hours became more and more common and from the middle of the century the manufacture of these books was a large industry. At this period new elements were added: fragments of the four Gospels, the Passion according to St. John, the Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Ghost, the prayers *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*, and countless prayers borrowed for the most part from special collections. In the sixteenth century the manuscript copies were gradually supplanted by printed copies and by the time of Louis XIV manuscript copies had almost ceased to be made.

M. Leroquais gives a masterful analysis of the different elements of which the Book of Hours is composed. The most characteristic feature is the section called *Hours of the Virgin*; and the special liturgies enable one to assign a manuscript to a specific diocese. It is interesting to note that the Large and Small Hours of the Duke of Berry (lat. 919 and 18014) follow the liturgy of Paris, those of Frederick of Aragon (lat. 10532) the Dominican order, those of Queen Yolande (Aix, bibl. Méjanes, ms. 22) the liturgy of Rouen, and the Hours of Louis de Laval and the great Hours of Anne of Brittany (lat. 920 and 9474) that of Rome. The importance of the text for a proper study of miniatures is shown in a convincing manner by the Hours of Frederick of Aragon; Leroquais shows that this manuscript was not executed in Italy for Ferdinand of Aragon, as Mâle had conjectured, but was written for his successor, who died in 1504 at Tours.

As far as the history of miniature painting is concerned the decoration of the Book of Hours offers nothing especially new. Its originality depends entirely on the choice of the subjects reported by the artist. Leroquais gives a valuable list of manuscript groups which might be assigned to definite artists: six manuscripts are assigned to Jacques de Besançon; four manuscripts show a certain relationship to the Hours of Marshal Boucicaut; there is also a close resemblance between the Great Hours of Anne



of Brittany (lat. 9474), the so-called Hours of Henry IV (lat. 1171), the Hours of Charles VIII (lat. 1370), and of Frederick of Aragon (lat. 10532); but the artists are in most instances anonymous.

The subjects chosen for representation in the Book of Hours vary considerably from century to century. As decoration for the calendar, the earliest artists inserted the signs of the zodiac and the labors of the months, whereas in the fourteenth century these were relegated to the background in favor of the concordance of the Old and New Testaments. In the fifteenth century greatest emphasis was given to the life and martyrdom of the saints. The fragments of the Gospels are preceded by a representation of each of the four evangelists and usually occur in the following order: John, Luke, Matthew, Mark. The subjects of the Passion according to St. John are somewhat varied and many manuscripts show the principal episodes of the Passion. The Virgin with the Child in her arms or on her knees usually precedes the prayers *Obsecro te* and *O intemerata*.

The most richly illustrated section of the Book is that which contains the office of the Virgin. At the beginning of each of the Hours appears a full-page miniature, and eight subjects are usually represented in the following order: Annunciation (Matins), Visitation (Laudes), Nativity (Prime), Annunciation to the Shepherds (Tierce), Adoration of the Magi (Sexte), Purification (None), Flight into Egypt (Vespers), Coronation of the Virgin (Complies). Other single miniatures or series which are found in the more complete copies are those preceding the Hours of the Cross (Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John), the Pentecost, the penitential Psalms (David scenes), office of the dead (Death, resurrection of Lazarus, etc.), office of the Virgin (martyrs, saints, confessors), fifteen joys of the Virgin.

The list of subjects represented in the 313 manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, arranged alphabetically, is another valuable section of M. Leroquais's book. Although the author does not attempt to discuss the iconography of these scenes, the carefully compiled list will be especially useful to those interested in the iconography of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The detailed discussion and careful analysis of each of the 313 manuscripts in the two volumes of text will always be a mine of information to students of illuminated manuscripts and mediaeval liturgy.

Walter W. S. Cook

LES ENLUMINURES ROMANES DES MANUSCRITS DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

By Ph. Lauer. 174 pp; 89 pls. (4 in color). Paris, Editions de la Gazette de Beaux-Arts, 1927.

M. Lauer's is the first French book in many years devoted to Romanesque illumination. It is not a complete catalogue of the Romanesque illuminated manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale—a work that would be highly desirable—but a selection of 66 manuscripts of which at least ten are not Romanesque. Of the manuscripts reproduced, the greater part are already familiar from other publications. Of the unexplored riches of the Paris library we are shown very little, and only few of the manuscripts

chosen are illustrated by more than one or two details. The value of the book lies less in its new materials or ideas than in the assembly in handy form of a large number of manuscripts accessible elsewhere only in scattered journals and volumes or in the rare album of de Bastard.

As a corpus of manuscripts, the book suffers from disorderly arrangement, from the scattering of the reproductions of pages of the same manuscript, from incomplete and inaccurate reference to the plates in the text, from an inadequate bibliography and index, and unsystematic description. In many details this expensive book reveals hasty and careless composition. The illustrations of lat. 9438 are not mentioned at all in the catalogue. Lat. 9448, a Troper, is called an Evangeliary in the text (p. 17) and a Gradual under its illustration (pl. XLIV, 1). Helricus of Auxerre is dated 989 to 1089, instead of to 1009 (p. 132), and the publication of Neuss' *Das Buch Ezechiel* in 1922 instead of 1912. The two women who bathe the infant Jesus in the initial of the Drogo Sacramentary are described as Mary and St. Joseph (p. 107 and pl. IV, 1), and the scene of the Washing of the Feet in the Limoges manuscript 9438 is named the Appearance of Christ to the Cenacle (p. 113 and pl. LV). Although M. Lauer accepts the Spanish provenance of the Ashburnham Pentateuch as proved by reasons presented by Berger and Neuss, he cites neither of them in his bibliography, which includes Gebhardt and Quentin. Ehl's publication of the St. Gereon Sacramentary and Haseloff's of the Poussay Evangeliary are likewise omitted. Boinet has published more fully the miniatures of the life of St. Aubin (nouv. acq. lat. 1390) in the *Congrès Archéol.* of Angers, II, 1911, pp. 166-173, and the Montmajour Missal (lat. 889) in the *Congrès* of Avignon, II, 1910, pp. 380 ff. The discussion and reproductions of Limoges manuscripts in L. Gautier's *Histoire de la Poesie Liturgique* should also have been mentioned.

The text consists of two parts, an historical introduction (pp. 5-38) and a descriptive catalogue (pp. 39-174). The former adds nothing to present knowledge of the subject and does not even clarify the uncertain perspective created by the great variety of the plates. In its judgment of style it suffers from vagueness, undecisive comparisons, and a singularly conventional eulogistic vocabulary. The characteristics of the Ada group are "richness, amplitude, and nobility of style . . . ;" of Tours, "delicacy, sobriety, and logic, the principal qualities of French taste," and elsewhere, "great finesse and grace;" of the Franco-Saxon school, "richness and originality of its foliate borders . . . and the great purity of its decorative style." The author observes in the Beatus manuscripts (after Neuss) "angels, clouds, and animals painted à la chinoise." The Luxeuil Evangeliary (nouv. acq. lat. 2196) is called "a masterpiece of eleventh century illumination" and compared with Bouguereau (pp. 151-152).

The continuity of Carolingian and Romanesque schools is suggested but not demonstrated. M. Lauer's independent judgments on Carolingian art are sometimes far-fetched and contradictory. Although on p. 7 he writes that the Carolingian schools "are for the most part only the continuation of centers already productive in the Merovingian age," he invokes on p. 10 the Spanish expeditions of Charlemagne to explain "Oriental" details in Carolingian manuscripts, and on p. 9 considers the horse-



shoe-arched windows represented in the Gospels of St. Médard de Soissons a proof of an "imperial Byzantine model," but adds that this Oriental influence might have entered France by a Spanish intermediary. He finds the influence of Spanish manuscripts on the schools of Tours and Orleans "very probable, for Theodulf came from Narbonne." The signs of the Zodiac in medallions, affronted lions, and elephants are ascribed to a Spanish source on p. 10; on p. 11 the elephants in Tours manuscripts are copies of the one sent to Charlemagne by Haroun-al-Raschid, and Eastern *motifs* in Tours are of Byzantine derivation. With all this attention to foreign *motifs*, the introduction of author and emperor portraits in manuscripts is attributed to the School of Tours (p. 10).

The discussion of South French and Spanish manuscripts is especially unsatisfactory. It is a catena of casual, unverified observations, which infer much from simple analogies, and are more often suggestive than true. On p. 24 Lauer writes: "the influence of Mozarabic art, which developed so brilliantly at Cordova, Toledo, and Saragossa, is absolutely manifest in these [Catalonian] Bibles; and when one observes the elongated types of certain of their figures, one is led to compare them with the sculptures of Ripoll, Moissac, St.-Sernin and St.-Étienne of Toulouse, Souillac, Vézelay, or Autun. The rapports are evident; but it would be rash to seek their exact genesis." He adds that "the suppression of relief, the search for symmetry and variety of color" in these Bibles derive from Byzantine and barbarian Visigothic art, but that behind all these lies an ancient Spanish background, transmitted by the "celebrated school of Seville." The interrelation of such diverse elements is not made clear, or even illustrated by specific references. Neuss, who is accepted so uncritically in parts of this work, was even bolder, and considered the Catalonian manuscripts as intermediaries between Buddhist sculpture and its Languedoc parallels. The Persian intimacies of Moorish and Mozarabic Spain assured this transcontinental diffusion. Lauer sees Beatus influence in the Bamberg Apocalypse, and in "the entire South of France, and even beyond, since one finds it imitated as far as Reichenau." He believes that Limoges artists made great progress after the end of the tenth century, "probably under Spanish influence." The banded polychromatic backgrounds of eleventh century Limoges miniatures are for him evidence of Spanish models, despite the great difference in actual color scheme, *motifs*, and design. The non-Mozarabic style of the St.-Sever Beatus, of which excellent reproductions are given, is explained as "an incontestable personal note," without reference to possible French or English traditions that modified the Spanish model. Contrary to his statement the few South French manuscripts published, such as the Montmajour Missal, a manuscript from St.-Victor of Marseilles now in the Vatican (Reg. lat. 123) recently studied by Albareda (*Catalonia Monastica*, I, pp. 23 ff.), the Limoges and Moissac manuscripts reproduced by Lauer and Gautier, a manuscript from Clermont-Ferrand in the Beatty collection in London, the Ste. Radegonde manuscript in Poitiers, and unpublished manuscripts studied by the reviewer, show little if any influence of Spanish art. Lauer observes (p. 114) a resemblance of the Limoges Sacramentary (Paris lat. 9438) to the fresco of S. Clement at Tahull, but neglects the more obvious relation to

the mural painting of Western and Southwestern France, which is of greater significance for French illumination. Elsewhere (on p. 30) the style of this same manuscript is considered as a transposition of enamels or stained glass; and the traces of a symmetrical cloud form across the head of the ascending Christ are mistakenly explained on p. 115 as due to the "habit of glaziers of fixing fragments of glass in place with lead armatures." For some reasons that are not stated, the St.-Germain-des-Prés Psalter (lat. 11550) is localized in Gerona despite the evident North French style (which is recognized by Lauer), and the divergence from Catalonian art. Upon the basis of the few, very simple initials of an unilluminated book, the Sacramentary of Cahors (lat. 2295), he speaks of a school of Cahors, and incorrectly attributes a South French Bible with Theodulfian text to Moissac and Cahors (lat. 10). In the attributions, the great similarity of the initials of lat. 7 (pl. XL, 1) and lat. 116 (pl. XXXVI, 3) is not mentioned. In the account of South French manuscripts no attempt is made to define the changes they manifest from the tenth to the twelfth century.

M. Lauer accepts the common theory of the predominance of English manuscripts on the continent in the second half of the twelfth century as "incontestable," and observes their earlier influence on Cistercian manuscripts in Burgundy. In the absence of special studies of the origin of English styles of the twelfth century and of the French schools of the same and the preceding periods, the simple generalization of English sources of continental figures and ornament that appear highly animated, calligraphic, and of exaggerated proportions, remains hypothetical, and at the most, relevant to a few striking instances rather than to the whole art of a region. Professors Morey, Porter, and Cook have sought to explain the elongation and movement of figures in South French and Spanish Romanesque art as the result of the diffusion of Winchester manuscripts. But the survival on the continent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of styles parallel to Winchester and likewise derived from the Carolingian art of France—as in the Paris Commentary of Haimon on Ezechiel, written at Auxerre between 989 and 1009 (Lauer, pl. VII), a work that recalls in many details the Catalonian Bibles, which are commonly dated too late in the eleventh century; in several manuscripts of St. Gall (Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in Sankt Gallen*, pls. LII, 1; LIV, 2; LVIII; LXIII, 1); in Continental Prudentius manuscripts (especially the Lyons example, Stettiner, pls. 109ff.); and finally in the manuscripts of Northern France and the Low Countries—must lead to some modification of the Winchester theory. The Winchester elements in the Poitiers Life of Ste. Radegonde, cited by Professor Morey in *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, 1924, p. 15, are limited to the border of one page (f. 21 v.) and to several initials. (v. Ginot's publication in the *Bulletin de la Soc. Franc. de Reprod. de MSS. à Peintures*, IV, 1). Its figure style is indigenous and is related to the wall paintings of Western France rather than to England. That continuous traditions of figure art persisted in Western France and Aquitaine from the tenth to the twelfth century, and were locally rooted and extensive, manifesting themselves in all materials, may be seen by comparison of the Angers Bible (No. 3-4; v. Boinet, *Min. Carol.*, pls. CLI-II), the later miniatures of the Life of St. Aubin,

(Lauer, pl. LXI, 2, and *Congrès Arch.* of Angers, vol. II, pl. opp. p. 166) the manuscripts of Limoges, especially, nos. 8, 1987, and 9438 of the Bibl. Nat.; the frescoes of Vic (de Lasteyrie, *Architecture Romane*, fig. 559), St.-Savin, and St.-Jean at Poitiers; stained glass at Poitiers and Le Mans, and sculptures at Angoulême, Beaulieu, Cahors, and throughout the region of Saintonge-Poitou. In these works are found many drapery conventions and figure types that have been conjectured as English in origin. The frequently observed identity of iconography of monumental wall painting and sculpture should lead us to reconsider the sources of Romanesque styles, and the common theory of exclusive manuscript prototypes. It is even possible that the adossed column figures of late Romanesque and Gothic portals are developed from the earlier painting of such figures on columns. Examples are preserved at Bawlt, Bethlehem, Pavia, and in St.-Hilaire at Poitiers.

The Winchester influence on Aquitaine and Western French manuscripts is usually apparent in the foliate initials and borders rather than in the figure style and technique. In the St.-Sever Beatus, Winchester foliage is completely absent, and the figures are rendered in a painting technique quite different from English pen drawing. When we consider that this was written a century before the English occupation of Gascony, that its subject is peculiarly Mozarabic, that details of costume and style can be duplicated in Western France and in Carolingian art, and that the associations of the abbey of St.-Sever were at this period chiefly with Aquitaine and Gascony, the derivation of its forms from Winchester must rest on stronger evidence than the common possession of figures with flying folds. Likewise in Catalonia, it is only in a few figures of apostles under arches in the Roda Bible that Anglo-Saxon drawing is suggested, though not necessarily copied; whereas the greater bulk of Catalonian art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, painting and sculpture, points to strong local traditions, influenced by the arts of Italy and France, and perhaps Germany.

Cluny, which according to Professors Porter and Morey diffused the Winchester style in Burgundy and Southern France, produced manuscripts with no trace of this style. The Cluny figures (v. Lauer, pl. XLVII, 2) are based on clearly Byzantine models; the initials are in the Romanesque period more Germanic than English. In the wall paintings of Berzé-la-Ville (*Millenaire de Cluny*, II, pls. XI-XIX), a Cluniac priory, may be observed examples of this Cluniac art, that show a great kinship to the Benedictine paintings of Italy of the same age.

If a specific connection is to be sought between Burgundian and English manuscripts, it is not between Cluny and Winchester, but between Clteaux (which produced no sculpture and departed from Cluniac traditions) and St.-Benigne of Dijon, and the English schools of the twelfth century at Durham, Bury St.-Edmunds, Canterbury, etc. And it is still an undetermined problem whether these English schools that supplanted Winchester, smoothing its crinkled folds, regularizing the breaks and contours, and substituting a rich interlace of grotesque little figures and animals in thick modeled scrolls for the older heavy acanthus initials, were native growths or continental importations. Millar admits a break between the English arts of the eleventh century and of the twelfth and invokes

the Norman conquest in explanation, but without citation of specific Continental models, or earlier English sources.

In the present ignorance of English centers other than Winchester in the eleventh century, it is difficult to decide this question. Goldschmidt distinguishes Continental examples in ivory of the common Channel style by their broader folds and the parallel and more regular movement of lines—characters that appear also in the Burgundian manuscripts usually attributed to an English model, as well as in the North French. The earliest known example of the English post-Conquest style is the Carleph Bible at Durham, a work of the last years of the eleventh century. The Burgundian Bibles are of the same period, or of the first years of the twelfth century, and are so assured in technique, and fertile in the production of endless varieties of the common initial *motif* that it is difficult to treat them as direct intrusions from England. The absence of figures in the first two volumes of the Clteaux Bible, and the novelty of the initial style of the last two in contrast to the former, suggest, however, a new artist at Clteaux. In England itself, the forms and technique of the Albani Psalter, a work of the second quarter of the twelfth century, show intimate relation to the Aquitaine and Northwest French groups, mentioned above.

The characteristic English initial ornament of the twelfth century is seen at an earlier period on the continent in a St.-Germain-des-Prés manuscript (Bibl. Nat. lat. 11751), dated 1030 to 1060, and in Moissac manuscripts of the eleventh century. The rinceaux with little figures and animals are carved on the cross of Ferdinand of the year 1063, now in the Madrid Museum, and appear in Italy, at Modena and Bari, contemporary with the earliest known English examples. Curiously enough, they are absent from the sculpture of Burgundy, which has been derived both from Winchester and from local manuscripts, and are very common in Southwestern France. In later Romanesque sculpture and in the earliest Gothic, they appear throughout Western Europe, in both carving and illumination. The more intricate developed Continental examples sometimes show remarkable similarity to the later English initials. Until the history of Romanesque ornament is better known, the transition from eleventh to twelfth century English art and the relations with the Continent remain uncertain.

Meyer Schapiro

ENGLISH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE XTH TO THE XIIIth CENTURY. By Eric G. Millar. xii, 145 pp.; 100 pls. Paris, Van Oest, 1926.

In a series of articles that appeared in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1923 the English scholar H. P. Mitchell, since deceased, threw new light on many branches of early art in England and showed that both in ivory carving and in goldsmith's work there was the same characteristic style that had long been familiar to students of manuscript illumination, regarding which he expressed at the same time his surprise "that since Westwood's pioneer work of fifty-five years ago no English scholar, with the resources of photographic reproduction at command, should have attempted a comprehensive and adequately illustrated survey of this subject." This need has been fairly met by the book on English manuscripts by Eric G. Millar,



Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Two hundred plates, deserving highest praise as reproductions, illustrate the development of English manuscript illumination from the rise of monastic culture in the tenth century down to about the year 1300. The choice of manuscripts to be illustrated shows a complete mastery of the material. From several codices of foremost importance pages are here reproduced for the first time, e. g.: the fine twelfth century Bible from Bury St. Edmunds at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and, in the same library, Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert*, the frontispiece of which is of exceptional historical interest because of the early date (c. 937); two further frequently mentioned examples of the School of Bury St. Edmunds, the Vatican Psalter MS. Regina 12 and the British Museum Gospels Harley MS. 76, both dating from the first half of the eleventh century; and, from the middle of the same century, the British Museum Troper Cotton MS. Caligula A. XIV, the stylistic peculiarities of which correspond to those of the Hereford Gospels at Pembroke College, Cambridge. The achievements of English illumination during the transition from Romanesque to Gothic, well illustrated on pls. 45-59, 62-71, surpass all preceding work and even contemporary Continental work and might already be called Early Gothic. Although a large part of the material for this and the following period (c. 1230-1260) was already known through the studies and publications of Sir G. F. Warner, Dr. M. R. James, Mr. Sydney, C. Cockerell, and others before the present book appeared, no inclusive survey was available.

Millar's text contains a historical introduction of about 65 pages, a description of the plates, a condensed catalogue of English illumination, and provides a very useful bibliography for collectors and scholars.

The preface, which gives the reasons for the chronological limits set to the book, contains penetrating and judicious comments on the aims and methods of the study of illuminated manuscripts and shows that the author has carefully evaluated the exactness of our working equipment. He concludes as follows: "Where there is a similarity or still more an identity of compositions, and at the same time a close inter-resemblance of script and decoration, we are usually justified in assigning two or more MSS. to the same atelier, and this is in most cases all that can be profitably done."

The first chapter deals with the period from the tenth century to the Norman Conquest. (One of the typical illuminations in this section of Millar's book—MS. Bodl. 155, f. 93v., in the Bodleian Library at Oxford—is reproduced as the cover design and tailpiece of this magazine.) Of the three periods included this is the most difficult and presumably the one in which the most work remains to be done. The two main difficulties are the great inequality of the various works, in contrast, for instance, to those of the twelfth century, and the obscurity of the derivation of the style which suddenly began to flourish in the second half of the tenth century. Millar correctly insists that Saxon illumination, as far as our monuments go, was dead and that the new inspiration came "from abroad." Sir George F. Warner in the introduction to his publication of the *Benedictional of St. Aethelwold* (Roxburghe Club, 1910) first pointed out the relation of the rich foliate ornament of the Winchester School to

Carolingian art on the Continent. In my book *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester*, I have called attention to very specific iconographic connections with the ivories of the later Metz School. It is probable, however, that the miniatures which were being produced at Winchester as early as the tenth century, with their animated angular folds, are closer to their as yet undiscovered Carolingian prototypes than are the ivories of the Metz School, which evidently belong already to a later derivative stage in the development. A better conception of the style of the Carolingian prototypes is given by some ivories of the so-called Ada Group, such as the Oxford book-cover (Goldschmidt, I, pl. III), the plaque in Florence with the Maries at the Tomb (Goldschmidt, I, pl. V), or the Pierpont Morgan panel (Goldschmidt, I, pl. VI).

The influence from Reims of the Utrecht Psalter is something entirely different. This is most clearly exhibited in two manuscripts of the early eleventh century, the British Museum Calendar decorated with exquisite pictures of the months (Cotton MS. Julius A. VI) and the first of the three (widely separated in time of origin) imitations of the Utrecht Psalter, which was then probably at Canterbury. Even this first copy is a by no means consistent imitation: of the six or seven painters who, between 1020 and 1050 approximately, executed the different sections and the late frontispiece only hands I, II, and V caught the style of the model. Hand II deserves credit for having most nearly approached the buoyant sketchy style of the Reims original. To the same group as these miniatures belong the possibly somewhat earlier Prudentius manuscripts of the Cotton collection (British Museum, Cotton MS. Cleopatra C. VIII) and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the Sherborne Pontifical (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 943), and a considerably weaker Aldhelm at Oxford (Bodleiana, MS. 577); a further manuscript that is about contemporary with the Psalter Harley MS. 603, and is analogous to hands I and V is the Duke of Arenberg's Gospels. In the Becket Psalter (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 411) also there is a representation of a man (David?), probably belonging still to the tenth century, which is similar to the older manuscripts of the group in its light and extremely charming style of outline drawing. This figure is surrounded by a border which, as in the case of other pages of the same codex, is freely imitated from a Carolingian manuscript of the Franco-Saxon School. Thus it appears that the stimulus proceeding from the various Carolingian schools, after remaining ineffective for more than a century, suddenly struck a responsive chord again. (In contemporary German illumination a similar development has been observed.)

At the beginning of one of the various schools which it remains for the future to define more precisely belongs another prominent work, the Leofric Missal (Bodleian MS. 579), the second main division of which was written and given its artistic adornment between 970 and 980 at Glastonbury, the center of Dunstan's movement of reform. This manuscript's calendar closely resembles in initials and script that of the Bosworth Psalter (British Museum Add. MS. 37517), prepared for Canterbury. On the other hand the strikingly beautiful line drawings in which the entire plasticity of the figures is realized parallels the contemporary early works of the Winchester School but far



surpasses them in refinement of line and precision of form. Any influence of the Utrecht Psalter is scarcely perceptible. (The condition of these miniatures, which are badly faded, doubtless explains why they are not represented among the plates of Millar's book.) The frontispiece, executed in contour drawing, of the Aldhelm of the Lambeth Library also seems to be attributable to the early period of this school—in the wider sense. The complex interlaced initials ending in leafage and animal heads recur in a large number of Aldhelm and Classical manuscripts (among them the Prudentius at Cambridge cited above) which can in part be localized at Canterbury, also in the Oxford Penitential, Bodleiana, MS. 718, which analogies of script associate with the above-mentioned Pontifical of Dunstan, or Sherborne Pontifical. It seems likely that we have to do with a more inclusive school probably dispersed to a number of affiliated places and characterized by a style entirely different from that of the Winchester School. At Winchester contour drawings are not found until the middle of the period (Stowe Register British Museum, Cotton MSS. Titus D. XXVI and D. XXVII) and at the end, that is around the middle of the eleventh century (British Museum, Cotton MS. Tiberius B.V., Arundel MS. 60, Cotton MS. Tiberius C.VI). To this late stage corresponds at Canterbury a style of drawing which is seen, for instance, in the evangelist portrait which was added at this late date to the much earlier British Museum Gospels Royal MS. 1 E. VI (Monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury), in the frontispiece of the oft-mentioned first imitation of the Utrecht Psalter (Monastery of St. Augustine?), and in the miniatures of the British Museum manuscript Cotton MS. Tiberius A. III (Christ Church, Canterbury). I should date only a little earlier two codices which are closely related to each other in script ("round hand") and in artistic character, one of them in the British Museum, Arundel MS. 155 (Christ Church, Canterbury), the other in the Provincial Museum at Hanover (Eadwius Codex), and both to be recognized and prized as examples of Canterbury painting in body color. The very beautiful Psalter Harley MS. 2904, of which Millar gives an excellent reproduction of the frontispiece, is considered by him, as by his predecessors, a product of the School of Winchester, although, in my opinion, there is no basis for this attribution, and the character of the drawing, as I have already urged in an earlier publication, points elsewhere. In the handsome script that distinguishes this codex there is added to the sacramentary destined for Winchcombe at the Library of Orleans a prayer for St. Julianna (fol. 150), whose name appears on an erasure in the litany of the Psalter Harley MS. 2904. An important example of English illumination cited for the first time is the manuscript of the Gospels at the monastery of Monte Cassino (Hand List, no. 31), which comes, I believe, from the same atelier as the Gospels at Holkham Hall, MS. 16, and the Psalter of the Bodleiana MS. Douce 296 (Ely or Peterborough). The connection between the illumination of the Rhabanus, *De laude crucis* (Hand List, no. 3) and the closely related miniatures of the Continental manuscripts of this poem composed at Fulda requires further elucidation; I see no reason to assume an Italian archetype (cf. E. H. Zimmermann, *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K. K. Zentralkommission*, 1910). It is left for future discussion

also to determine the origin of the much debated manuscripts of the Gospels in the British Museum Add. MS. 34890 and Royal MS. 1 D. IX, Millar's account of which is at marked variance with mine (*Die Anfänge der Malerschule von Winchester*, pp. 66, 70). In this connection it must not be forgotten, however, that his book being destined for a wide public does not offer the opportunity to discuss at length special questions of this sort.

There were fewer difficulties presented by the task of arranging the principal monuments of English painting of the twelfth century, i. e., Romanesque illumination, in an orderly series, and this task was all the more worth while because, apart from the very brief treatment by Haseloff (Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, 1) and by Herbert (*Illuminated Manuscripts*), no summary had heretofore been available. Here again the origins lie in deep obscurity which will only be clarified when the Northern French material of the time of the Norman Conquest and of the following decades has been published; doubtless at this period also the principal inspiration came from the Continent and possibly it fructified the School of Canterbury, precisely the one of which we still know least. The largest share of the artistic production, the quality of which is only to be properly evaluated through a comparison with the contemporary work on the Continent, falls to the monasteries of Bury St. Edmunds, St. Albans, and St. Swithun, Winchester. While it is still too soon to generalize concerning the local differences, two periods of artistic development can be differentiated dating approximately 1020-1050 and 1040-1070. Outstanding products of the former are the Albani Psalter at Hildesheim, the Lansdowne Psalter, Lansdowne MS. 383 of the British Museum, and the *Life and Miracles of St. Edmund* in the Holford collection from Bury St. Edmunds. Representative works of the latter are the Bible from Bury St. Edmunds at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 2, the Bible of the Lambeth Library, and a Psalter written in Winchester which, as Millar correctly brings out, already illustrates the capacity which developed still further in the thirteenth century for caricaturing and making grotesque the persons who figure as representatives of evil. Also the expressiveness of the flow of line and the taste in the disposition of the areas are things quite remarkable in this manuscript which has so much in common with modern artistic feeling. In the famous Bible of three volumes which is still preserved in the Library of Winchester Cathedral and which was written in 1160-1170 is exhibited the momentous change that, under the influence of Byzantine models and of an entirely new feeling for the structure and the solidity of objects, took place in all branches of the figure art of Western Europe during the course of the second half of the twelfth century. As in the Lower Saxon Gospels of 1194, preserved in the Brunswick Museum, both styles, old and new, are represented by creations of equivalent artistic merit in the same manuscript: in the Winchester Bible it seems evident that artists of the old and the new tradition took turns in executing the work. The hand of the most advanced of them all seems to be recognizable in a miniature reproduced by Millar (pl. 48), which with another companion leaf is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

It would have been possible to begin a new chapter with examples of the style of this period and Millar admits that

only external considerations led him to make his chapter divisions by centuries. I should have treated the fine Psalter of Westminster Abbey (British Museum, Royal MS. 2 A. XXII) in connection with the preceding, because it closely agrees in style and coloring with some miniatures of the Winchester Bible (at the beginning of Isaiah, vol. II, fol. 131 r.); Millar has kindly reproduced all its miniatures. In the period of illumination that comes next, approximately 1170-1250, artistic production reaches exceptional excellence and abundance, and it is, as already indicated, to Millar's great credit that he has provided us with a survey of the various successive groups of illuminated manuscripts.

One after another Millar discusses the roll with the strikingly animated scenes from the life of St. Guthlac, the series of bestiaries belonging to the various schools, the group of Psalters already assembled by Haseloff formed about the Psalter in the British Museum, Royal MS. 1 D. X, the third copy of the Utrecht Psalter now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and another group which dates in the neighborhood of 1220 and clusters around the Peterborough Psalter of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Particular attention is devoted to the delicate works with diminutive figures by W. de Brailes, whose artistic personality has gained definite shape by the penetrating studies of Sir George F. Warner and Mr. Sydney C. Cockerell; in the collection of Mr. A. Chester Beatty, which Millar has recently catalogued, there are also important miniatures representing this painter. Although in this case as well as in various other contemporary

manuscripts the border line between English and French art seems to disappear (cf. Millar's keen observations, pp. 44, 45), some works which were not produced till toward the middle of the century, such as the Psalter of the Duke of Rutland and the illuminated manuscripts from the scriptorium of the historian William of Malmesbury at St. Albans, carry on the English tradition, which is distinguished by its capacity for strongly characterized types and by its genius for animating the capriciously disposed and plastically modeled folds.

In this connection is taken up the problem of the illustrations of the Apocalypse, some of which, like those of the Cambridge manuscript (Trinity College Apocalypse) or of the codex from the atelier of Matthew Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale, may fairly be regarded as the ideal culmination of what English painting had been tending toward through centuries of development and, in fact, of mediaeval art in general. A broad field of research opens up to scholars who, building further on the basic publications of M. Delisle, Dr. James, and Mr. Millar, seek to put this rich material in its proper place in the history of art. Again, as a century earlier, it is the School of St. Albans which for the present is most tangible and to it are to be ascribed five of the illustrated copies of the Apocalypse.

An entirely new style is encountered in the manuscripts belonging to the second half of the thirteenth century, with the discussion of which the clearly and coherently written text closes.

Otto Homburger



